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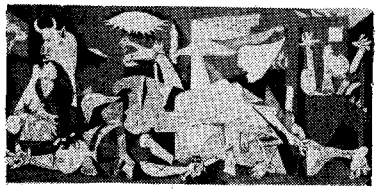

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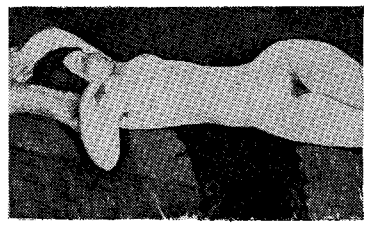

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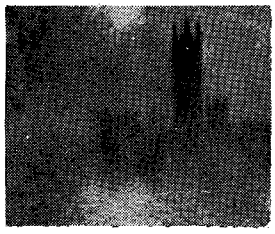

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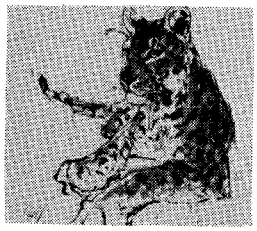

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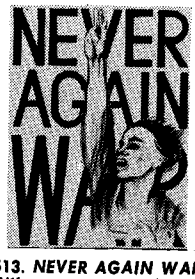

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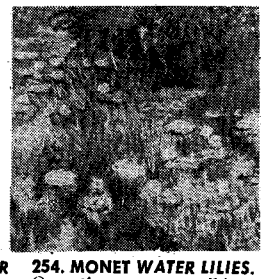

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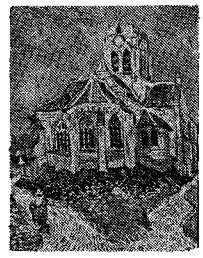

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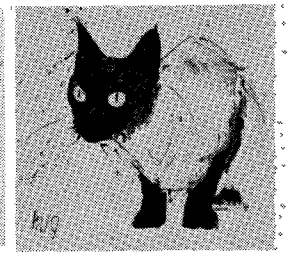

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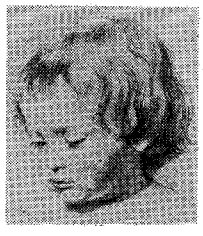

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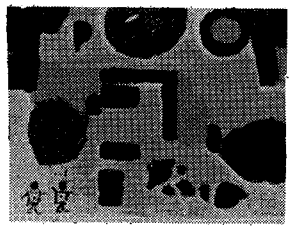

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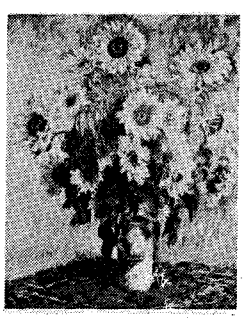

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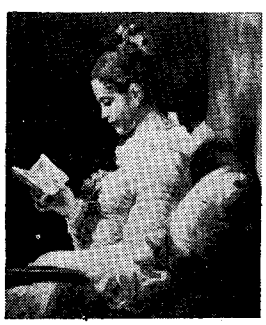

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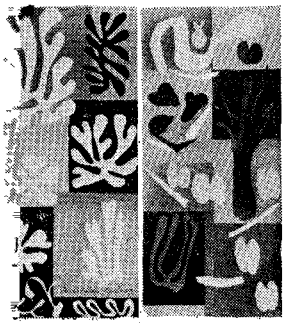

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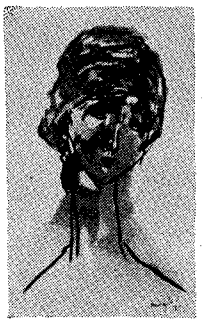

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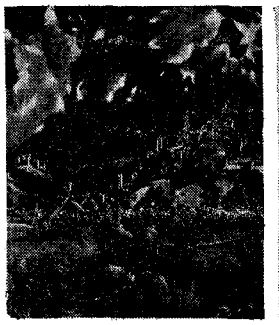

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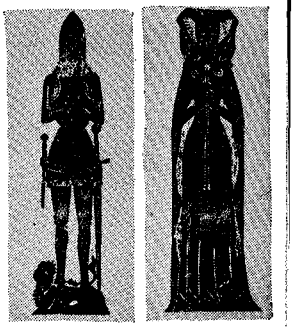

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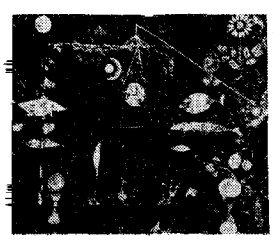

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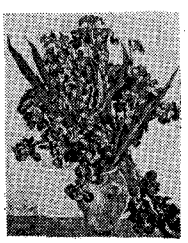

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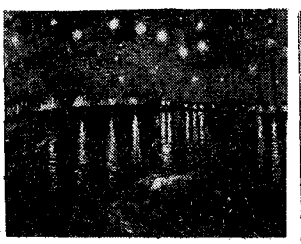

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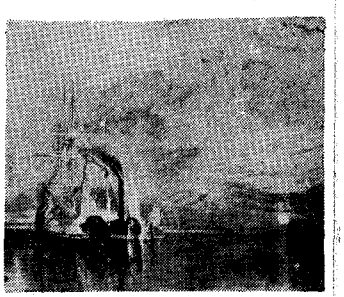

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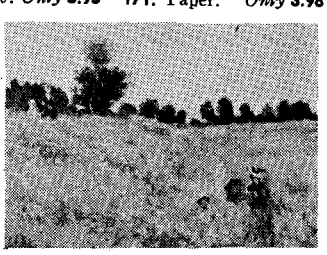

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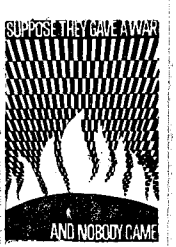

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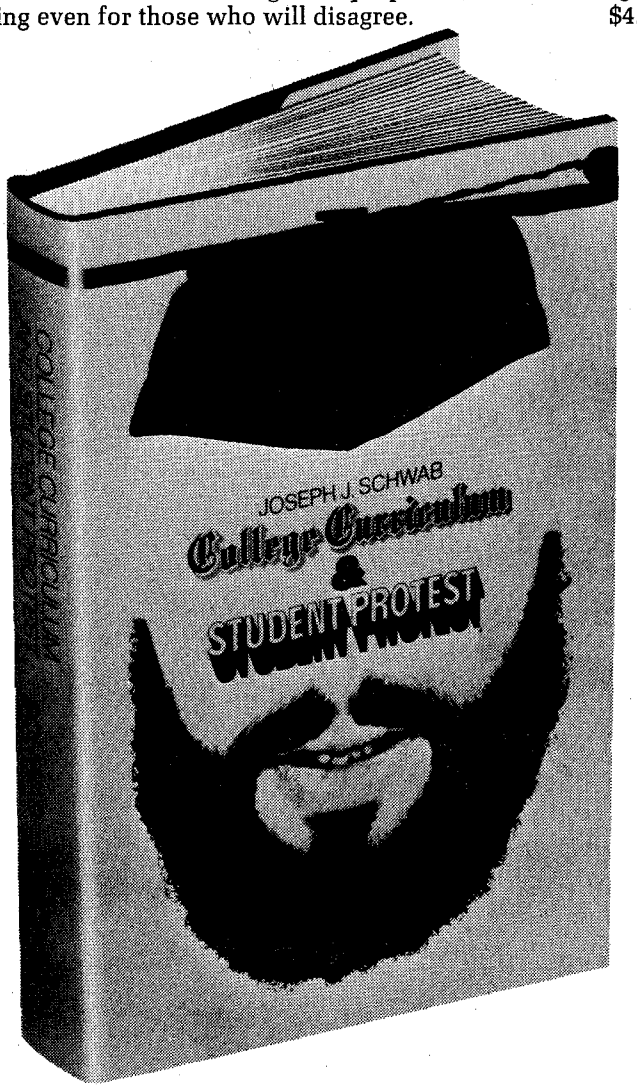

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TRB

From Washington

Power Shakedown

When President Nixon leaves America this weekend he becomes representative of all the people. When abroad he is no longer the party leader but national leader. It might have been better to have decided to stay out of beleaguered Berlin but, once announced, there is no easy way to retreat. We wish him well. Next in line of succession is Vice President Spiro Agnew and, after that, House Speaker John McCormack. As we say, we wish Mr. Nixon well.

The President is turning out to be an activist in foreign affairs, and, so far, he seems to be getting his ideas largely from Harvard professor Henry Kissinger. When Nixon's urbanologist-in-residence, Pat Moynihan, invited a visitor to the White House the other day he said, "Come to the basement; there's nobody here but me and Henry Kissinger and the barber." That's where they are, in the basement. We think no basement barber ever before was sandwiched between such personalities – leprechaun Moynihan and Herr Doktor Professor "Heinz" Kissinger.

Mr. Kissinger rejects the architectonic approach to political multipolarity. Yes, sir! In an essay written a couple of months before taking office he explains that "military bipolarity is a source of rigidity in foreign policy" because "a bipolar world loses the perspective for nuance." He says we should "avoid an American-Soviet condominium" because it would "tend to legitimize the Soviet hegemonial position in Eastern Europe." What the poor man is evidently trying to say is (and it makes a good deal of sense) that the two superpowers can now bomb the hell out of each other, and it presents quite a problem for frightened lesser nations who don't want nuclear war but who also don't want the giants to be too palsy-walsy (rough translation).

Kissinger is young (45), short, terribly bright, with a slight German accent and an attractive, rather quizzical expression. He can talk lucid prose when he wants to. Behind his big tortoise rims he whirs quietly like a dynamo and he raises speculation as to who's going to run the show in foreign affairs, he or inexperienced Secretary of State Rogers or, perhaps, "Two-gun" Laird, Secretary of Defense, who volunteered on his own last week that Moscow must produce "signs of progress . . ." before Washington will enter missile talks.

This power shakedown, incidentally, is going on throughout the Administration now, particularly in foreign affairs and in the poverty area. Such a shakedown always occurs in a new Administration but Mr. Nixon has set up such a nightmare of overlaid committees and staffs that the design looks like the back of a TV set. We won't really know who's running the shop till the first crisis. After that it will be plain fast enough.

As to Mr. Kissinger, this fascinating man says a lot of things that make sense; he has a theory of "linkage" in which a number of problems are connected together. It's important, of course, to see the picture as a whole. But we can't help wondering, in observing the confident professor setting out firmly to codify, classify and systematize things at the White House, whether the world structure is really that obedient, and is going to sit up and beg at its master's command. Well, if anybody can do it, Kissinger can.

One trouble with American diplomacy is its rigidity. Averell Harriman the other day denounced the legal requirement that we stop foreign aid to nations that expropriate US property and who do not open negotiations by a certain date.

This is the 1962 Hickenlooper amendment to the foreign aid law. It is, of course, a built-in ultimatum. Our diplomats are currently trying to get a military junta in Peru to be reasonable in such a case. Maybe they can; maybe they can't. But Hickenlooper's ukase puts a deadline on the try.

Then there is the wrist slap of cutting off recognition. It is like a husband and wife who won't speak, but have to live together. By some good luck we never applied it to Soviet Russia. Now our nonrecognition of Cuba is being made awkward by the hijackers, and the State Department may have to swallow its pride. Like it or not, Cuba is a going concern. Does it do any good to the USA not to have a window in Havana now, with our ambassador looking out?

Or take Red China. It has about a third of the world's population. It won't go away. Probably China wouldn't deal with us even if we volunteered to deal with it, but wouldn't it be to our self-interest to try? Last week the State Department had the gall to tell Canada (as it earlier had Italy) that we are "very much concerned" by their bid to recognize China. This seems calculated to irritate Canadians though they probably won't pay much attention to busybody USA one way or the other.

If You Hear a Click

Meanwhile, at home, the Nixon Administration is deploying its forces against crime. Who can object to that? So, if you hear a click on your receiver, it may be the FBI or local police listening in, using authority granted by Congress last June but rejected by Mr. Johnson lest it produce "a nation of snoopers." The authority requires court restraints but it is full of loopholes. One permits local police a 48-hour "fishing expedition" and this can be repeatedly extended. Now Attorney General Mitchell (who may be headed for the Supreme Court) is implementing the act. Will it create a climate of fear about government eavesdropping? It bears watching.

The Administration is also pushing "preventive detention." In the District of Columbia, where the federal government has authority, courts are so clogged that many suspects go for months on bail. Some then commit other crimes. You and I would say that the remedy is to speed trials. How silly we are! The proposed remedy here is to hold certain defendants *without bail.* Conservative Senator Ervin (D, N.C.) says this is unconstitutional, which it probably is. But in the crusade against crime we may have to break the law.

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The Gravediggers

Before Tet (February 17-20), the South Vietnamese government of President Nguyen Van Thieu was under growing domestic pressure to broaden itself. This led to the usual arrests of students, teachers, Buddhists – and last week, interestingly enough, of some 50 reserve army officers also. Those arrested were charged with "disturbing the mind of the population." Most people on both sides want to end the killing. The rulers in Saigon fear, and the rulers in Hanoi hope, this could result in a coalition government in the South that includes Communists.

The official American attitude toward any such denouement of the war seems to veer between horror and acceptance. President Nixon doesn't "want an American boy to be in Vietnam for one day longer than is necessary for our national interest." But he like everyone else fails to clarify what our national interest in Vietnam really is. Averell Harriman, the old negotiator, believes that "our military objectives will be achieved if the North is stopped from taking over the South by force," but adds, with typical bluntness, that President Nixon had better disregard "those people who want to escalate our minimum objectives." Harriman's own advice to the President is to pull American troops in Vietnam out of combat, commencing now. The view Harriman takes of a possible coalition government in South Vietnam is that this country has never gone beyond clarifying that "we are not going to impose" one. But again he has things to add – "What is clear is that the people of South Vietnam, the people of North Vietnam, want to see this [war] over"; and, "I am very hopeful that if the Vietnamese get together they will find a way to end the fighting and move ahead into the political arena."

The American stake in their soon doing so can be quite precisely measured. Since the Paris talks technically began, last May 10, 8,628 Americans have been killed in Vietnam and 29,899 wounded. Recent American casualty rates are just under 200 killed and well over 1,000 wounded, each week. Many of those casualties have occurred because, long before Tet, American military pressure was deliberately stepped up, when Saigon was delaying the Paris talks, and when the Vietcong were doing little fighting. What was the American purpose, as we're supposed to be trying to end the war by negotiating? One observer called it a race against time, to plant

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the flag. Lyndon Johnson had said, and Averell Harriman has lately repeated that "it's up to the people of South Vietnam to decide their own future on the basis of one man, one vote." Apparently it was deemed worth paying the price of more American dead, as well as South Vietnamese, to try to ensure that as few Vietcong as possible would be alive to vote. The war's long history suggests that this course is likelier to bring down the Saigon government than to extirpate the Vietcong.

To Arms!

The US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is out with its yearly measure of the world's insanity, as it is expressed in military expenditures. In 1967, the latest year for which global estimates are available, world military spending totalled $182 billion, up from $132 billion since 1964 and still rising in 1968. That is as much as the billion people of Latin America, South Asia and the Near East had in total income, and 40 percent more than was spent for education in the whole world. The disparity between the totals spent for purposes of organized death and for purposes of life is growing. World outlays for wars and preparation for wars have totalled an unimaginable $4,000-billion since 1900; in the next decade alone, if the present rate of increase in such spending continues, $4,000-billion more will go for military purposes.

The biggest military spenders are of course the United States and the Soviet Union (they accounted for $35 billion of the $44 billion increase in 1967 over 1965). The ACDA report does not itemize the spending country by country, but it and US budget figures make it clear that we are the maddest of the mad. The US rate of increase, due only partly to Vietnam, outstrips all others. For "the NATO countries," principally the US, a 35 percent increase in 1965-67 compares with 26 percent for the Warsaw pact countries. American officialdom tends to be impatient with the officials of smaller, poorer countries ("the less developed") who cry for disarmament at the UN and beg the US for military assistance. But their military spending has tended to flatten out while ours rises, and their overall rate of increase (24 percent in 1965-67) is substantially less than that of the developed NATO countries. Arms-minded officials and politicians nourish the notion that the drain of military spending from the total economy doesn't really hurt all that much if it is viewed as a percentage of the rising Gross National Product in the world and in the big-spending countries. The fact, says ACDA, is that per capita military expenditures are increasing at a faster rate than per capita GNP is (16 percent vs. 9 percent in the measured period). Inflation, another favored explanation of the soaring outlays, does not alter the basic fact that worldwide military spending increases at a rate higher than that of any other area of governmental expenditure. Expressed in real terms, with inflated currency values discounted, the world total rose 23 percent overall and 16 percent per capita in 1964-67.

There is another way of arguing that the $182 billion for 1967 really isn't so big. The US could be spending that much, and more, on an all-out anti-ballistic missile system in the next few years.

COMING: John Osborne, still on the Nixon trail, reports from Europe on the President's visit to five capitals

Maybe a Few Nuts

"In spite of the flurries of Santa Barbara, very few people go swimming in February; maybe a few nuts, but not the normal run-of-the-mill tourist." Thus Fred L. Hartley, president of Union Oil Co. of California, testifying as a volunteer, without prepared text, before Senator Edmund S. Muskie's subcommittee on air and water pollution. At that time Union had not succeeded in plugging its runaway well. Hartley said the loss of bird life caused by the Santa Barbara pollution had been exaggerated. He described Union's efforts "to do our best to save our feathered friends," and pointed out that there had been no human casualties.

Hartley spoke up stoutly as the chief executive officer of a $1.7 billion-a-year company that bought federal oil leases in the Santa Barbara channel a year ago, drilled where it had paid for the right to drill, had the misfortune of triggering a leak in the ocean floor, and was striving with might and main to plug the leak and clean up the mess. As Hartley said, the federal government got some $602,000,000 out of the leases to Union and other oil companies; it was a government-industry partnership to develop oil resources.

Nevertheless, the Santa Barbara drilling accident was bad luck for Union Oil, which also figured in the Torrey Canyon disaster off the English coast some months ago; and for the new Republican Secretary of the Interior, Walter J. Hickel, who had nothing to do

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with selling the leases – that was the Democrats – but in the past, as an entrepreneur in Alaska, had been involved with Union in a business way. Hartley said that although his company had pitched in immediately and was carrying the ball on the cleanup, it was not thereby accepting legal responsibility. What happened, he said, was not due to negligence but to circumstances beyond his company's control.

"Obviously, in life you only stand as tall as the information of those who have gone before you," Hartley told the Senators. "Mother nature, if you have had contact with her, you will find is always teaching new things."

On the question of a total shutdown and cessation of drilling at Santa Barbara – a move ordered by Secretary Hickel two days later with President Richard M. Nixon's strong concurrence – Hartley was opposed. He confided he had told Governor Ronald Reagan of California, "I would liken it to him making a decision to shut down the whole university educational system of California because there is a riot in San Francisco, and I think he got the message. . . ."

Looking at the positive side, Hartley suggested that inasmuch as California is subject to earthquakes it might be wise to take the oil out now.

". . . At least in going after this natural resource offshore and in effect taking the pressure out of it by producing these fields," he said, "maybe we are going to eliminate a potential problem of sometime in the years to come. At least I would like to suggest . . . maybe there is a silk purse behind every sow's ear."

Electing Presidents

President Nixon has let it be known – not by formal announcement, but indirectly, through the Republican leadership in Congress – that he favors neither retention of the present system of electing Presidents, nor abolition of the Electoral College and substitution of direct popular election. The President would like to abolish the unit rule, by which the total electoral vote of each state is now cast in accordance with the wishes of a plurality or majority of the state's voters.

A plan put forward by Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota would be more acceptable to the President than the system now in use. Under the Mundt plan two electors would be chosen at large in each state, no matter what its population, and one would be chosen in each Congressional district. All the electors would cast their votes in accordance with the mandate of a plurality or a majority in their respective constituencies, so that the electoral vote of many states would be divided, and even a candidate who carried a state and its two electors at large might lose some Congressional districts to his opponent. Most favored by President Nixon, however, is a proposal made two decades ago by Henry Cabot Lodge, then a Senator from Massachusetts, and Ed Gossett, then a Representative from Texas. This plan, which went through the Senate in 1950 but was defeated in the House, would divide each state's electoral vote, calculated as at present, in proportion to the popular vote. There would be no electors and no Electoral College as such. Presidential candidates would receive a percentage of each state's electoral vote corresponding as precisely as possible to the percentage of their popular vote in the state.

Under the Mundt plan, a majority of electoral votes would continue to be necessary for election of a President. The Lodge-Gossett scheme, as reintroduced by Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama in the 90th Congress, is satisfied with 40 percent of the electoral vote. Under both proposals, a joint session of Congress would elect a President when no one had the required number of electoral votes.

We have argued in these pages that direct popular election of Presidents would diminish what is now the disproportionate influence of the large industrial states in Presidential politics, and thus diminish what often, even if not always, turns out to be the influence of cohesive minority groups in those states. The reason is that allocation to each state under the present system of a total of electoral votes, which includes an automatic two votes, corresponding to the senators, regardless of population, is only an apparent malapportionment in favor of the less populous states. By virtue of the unit rule, relatively small blocs of votes in closely divided big states can make the decisive difference in an election, as the nominating conventions and the candidates have known for generations. That is where the real advantage of the system now lies.

Proponents of the popular election have contended that the advantage that comes to the large industrial states from application of the unit rule in the Electoral College is less justified now than it used to be when Congress was itself malapportioned in favor of other regions of the country, and less significant now than it used to be when other regions of the country were more homogeneous and less urbanized than they are becoming. We believe that expectations of a change in the orientation of Congress resulting from reapportionment are much too sanguine, and that judgment concerning the effect of nationwide urbanization and population dispersal is premature. And while we recognize that the large states will continue to exercise due influence in Presidential politics under a system of popular election, owing to the density of their population, we do not wish to see their present greater influence diminished in any degree, since we believe that it appropriately countervails the disproportionate power enjoyed in Congress by less-populated regions.

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Whatever may be said about the consequences, and the wisdom or rashness of adopting a system of popular election, no one will claim, however, that either the Mundt or the Lodge-Gossett plan does anything but enormously increase the influence of small states, way beyond what is due them in proportion to their population, and diminish the influence of the large states, way below what is due them in proportion to their populations. Both plans are undisguised schemes for malapportioning the Presidency in favor of the small states and of homogeneous, one-party or near-one-party regions of the country. Both plans, moreover, as much as the present system and perhaps more likely, can produce minority Presidents, who win the electoral vote even though they have fewer popular votes than their principal opponent.

The proposal for popular election has a certain ideological purity to commend it. It is a proposal for simple democracy. It is, in truth, a proposal for simplistic democracy, because its practical effect on the federal government, viewed in its entirety as consisting of centers of countervailing power, would be to make it less democratic, less responsive to what is after all not a simple, but a complex and varied national constituency. But the popular election plan has at least the purity of its aspirations to commend it, even though it is misguided. The Mundt and Lodge-Gossett plans do not pretend to be attempts to equalize the influence of various groups and regions in Presidential politics. Rather they are naked efforts to shift power and influence from some regions and groups disfavored by their authors, to other regions and groups favored by them. No one can mistake this, and Mr. Nixon must know it.

We also have opposed the plan for popular election on the ground that it would very likely spawn a multi-party system in place of the present two-party one. As things stand, only a regionally-based third party can hope to make a showing in the Electoral College, to cause a deadlock, and then to use its bargaining position. Other minor parties may crop up in this or that state from time to time, and they may aim at a protest vote and at affecting major party policy in the long run, but unless they are regional, they can scarcely hope to affect the result of a Presidential election. In a popular election with a runoff, enough minor party candidates, or even one strong one, can prevent anyone else from getting 40 percent of the vote, and can then bargain, or at any rate exert influence, as coalitions are formed with a view to the runoff.

Both the Mundt and Lodge-Gossett plans also invite national minor-party activity, and may break up the two-party system, even though neither provides for a runoff. For both make it possible for a candidate with support distributed nationally, as well as one with support concentrated regionally, to make a showing in the Electoral College. If the Electoral College is deadlocked by a multiplicity of candidates, there will be a period of bargaining and of forming coalitions in preparation for election by a joint session of Congress. This prospect will make it worthwhile for candidates other than the two major ones to enter the election. The Lodge-Gossett plan presumably attempts to meet this prospect by providing that 40 percent of the electoral votes will be enough for election. But this provision runs a heightened risk of producing minority Presidents, and it is insufficient assurance against multiple candidacies. Less than 40 percent of the vote for anyone is entirely possible with three strong candidates, let alone four. In a four-man race in 1860, Lincoln had under 40 percent of the popular vote. What would Mr. Nixon's percentage have been if he had had for opponents not only Humphrey and Wallace, but also either Rockefeller or McCarthy, or both?

The present Electoral College system, with the unit rule, works out better, more fairly and more safely, than a system of popular elections, and infinitely more fairly than either the Mundt or Lodge-Gossett scheme. Yet it does need reform. One shortcoming of the present system is personified by Dr. Lloyd Bailey, Alabama's "faithless elector," whom the Senate's resumed hearings on electoral reform recently exhibited. (The exhibition verged on farce as Dr. Bailey, who allowed that he learned his political theory from a 1928 Army training – training for what? – manual, lectured the Senators on the dangers of democracy.) There is no excuse for the freedom of an elector to vote his own mind rather than the wishes of a majority or plurality of the voters in his state. The Dr. Baileys of our history have surfaced rarely and have never amounted to anything, but this Dr. Bailey ought to be the last of them. The way to make sure is to write a constitutional amendment eliminating the electors and providing that the electoral vote of each state, calculated as at present, shall be awarded to the winner of a majority or plurality of the popular vote in that state.

Another defect in the present system is that if no one has a clear majority of the electoral vote, a President is elected in the House of Representatives. But the members on such an occasion do not vote individually, in the usual fashion. Rather each state's delegation in the House polls itself, and a majority of each delegation then casts its state's vote, one vote per state, whether New York or Alaska. This method has nothing to be said for it. Election by a majority of the individual votes of members of the House would be infinitely preferable, as would election by a joint session of Congress, each Senator and Representative casting one equal vote. Both of these solutions are probably better than either allowing a President to be elected by as little as a 40 percent plurality of the electoral vote, or having a runoff.

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Nixon's Home Guard

Discipline and Order But an "Open" Image

by John Osborne

The Reverend Billy Graham knew whereof he spoke when he said in his prayer at the Nixon Inaugural that this President needs more help than any previous President has required. For mundane help, as distinct from the divine aid besought for him by his favorite evangelist, Mr. Nixon has installed at the White House and in the adjacent Executive Office Building the biggest and most elaborate array of assistants, assistants to assistants, councils and sub-councils in Presidential history. During his first three weeks in office, President Nixon devoted more time and energy to the organization of his staff, and to making sure that the principal members of it understood exactly what they were and were not expected to do for him, than to any other subject or problem. Disciplined order and precision within his immediate establishment, he seemed to realize, was a prerequisite to the promise and appearance of orderly administration that he succeeded from the start in conveying to the country.

Evidently to further the image of both an orderly and an "open" Administration, the President and his assistant for national security affairs, Henry A. Kissinger, took the unprecedented step on February 7 of announcing not only the structure but the personnel of an enlarged and reorganized National Security Council secretariat. It is as it was described in the February 15 issue of this journal, except that Mr. Nixon finally allowed Kissinger to retain six rather than only two of the 15 NSC staffers who sufficed for President Johnson. There are 28 and there soon may be 30 or so on the Nixon NSC staff. Comparable expansion for a comparable reason – President Nixon's determination to assert and establish effective command over the whole Executive Branch of the federal government – has occurred with less notice and disclosure on the domestic side of the Nixon setup. The home-side organization is in some respects more interesting, in that it is more revealing of Mr. Nixon and his approach to his Presidency, than the publicized NSC and foreign-policy organization is.

The most interesting of Mr. Nixon's additions to the standard White House administrative system is his appointment of the first "Counsellor to the President." The President's announcement identified the Counsellor, Arthur F. Burns, as "a long-time friend and trusted advisor," granted him Cabinet rank, and said that his role "will be that of a generalist, dealing with a broad province (*sic*) of legislative and executive actions." This was an understatement. Mr. Burns, who was President Eisenhower's first chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and ex-officio adviser afterward to both Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon, was asked on the day of his new appointment whether his wide jurisdiction would conflict with that of his friend and protege, Paul McCracken, chairman of the Nixon Council of Economic Advisers. Burns thought not. "My range," he said, "is very much wider than economics. . . . However, I would not be discharging my responsibilities if I stayed out of this sphere of economics. I will be in there inevitably."

Mr. Burns has been and will be "in there" across the whole sweep of the President's policy and administrative concerns. One of his tasks, as he sees it, is to detect and resolve disputed issues of policy and administration before they become the President's problems. It is a conception that requires high officials, Cabinet members included, to recognize his primacy and to accept his intervention without appeal to President Nixon, and Burns is aware of the potential for jealousy and discord inherent in it. He relies upon his known standing with the President and upon a general acceptance of his assurances that he has no wish to build a White House empire for himself to avert trouble of that kind. In his first weeks on the job – he functioned as "Counsellor" before the appointment was announced – he refereed a bitter jurisdictional dispute between two agency heads (unidentified); tightened up the procedures for review of the fiscal 1970 budget inherited from President Johnson; recommended to the President, at Paul McCracken's request, steps to give more responsibility and "visibility" to McCracken's colleagues on the Council of Economic Advisers, Herbert Stein and Hendrick Houthakker; and sparked a prodigious number of Presidential orders to departments and agencies to review existing policies and practices and come up with new ones. He also is in charge of preparing what he calls "a significant program of legislation" for submission to Congress, he takes a hand in determining the agenda for Cabinet meetings, and he is busy finding things for the new Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy to do that the Council of Economic Advisers is not doing.

Counsellor Burns obviously needs, and he has, a staff of his own. His deputy is one of the President's special assistants, 31-year-old Martin Anderson, a Columbia University economist and authority on urban problems who is actively involved, on Burns' behalf, with the new Council on Urban Affairs and its numerous sub-councils. Wesley McCain, another young Columbia economist, assists Anderson. The presence of two other staffers seems rather odd, but Burns insists that it isn't. They are Richard Burress, a Washington lawyer who until recently was counsel to the House (of Representatives) Republican Policy Committee, and Jack Tom Cole, former legislative assistant to Re-

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publican Senator John Tower of Texas. They are said to be skilled drafters of legislation, to have inside knowledge of Republican and Congressional politics that Burns finds useful, and in no way to be duplicating the work of Bryce N. Harlow, the assistant for Congressional relations, and his staff.

Another Nixon generalist, former Congressman Robert Ellsworth of Kansas, understands that he may be assigned to work for the President "in any area, anywhere in government or the world." He figured importantly in the prelude to Mr. Nixon's recent suspension of the Johnson order granting and denying new Pacific routes to competing airlines. Just now Ellsworth is trying to reconcile Candidate Nixon's promises to give the Southern textile industry more protection against imports with President Nixon's Inaugural commitment to the ideal of "an open world – open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people." He also has a continuing assignment, one that could get him and the President into trouble if it is mishandled. It is to keep tabs for the President upon the doings of some 15 independent agencies and regulatory commissions. Ellsworth, for example, will be expected to forewarn the President of such developments as the Federal Communications Commission's proposal to ban all TV and radio advertising of cigarettes. How to accomplish this without seeming to evince White House interest in particular cases or to be interfering improperly in other ways with the agencies he is instructed to watch is a problem that Mr. Nixon expects Ellsworth to solve for himself. In dealing with it and in his other work, he has the assistance of a California mathematician, C. T. Whitehouse; a young New York investment adviser, Daniel Hofgren; and a young Ohio lawyer, Jonathan Rose.

A team of eight writer-researchers has been a good deal more tightly structured than the stars on it anticipated when they worked for Mr. Nixon's nomination and election. James Keogh, a former *Time* editor, is their editor and supervisor, and he runs a taut shop. Drafts of speeches, proclamations, other Presidential statements are supposed to be on Keogh's desk by 3 p.m. of the day before Mr. Nixon is to use them. Each man has a specific though not exclusive assignment – Keogh to the Cabinet, Raymond K. Price to Urban Affairs, William Safire to the Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy, Patrick Buchanan to White House meetings with Congressional leaders. Buchanan, a former editorial writer who has worked for Mr. Nixon since 1966 and got more notice than he wanted during the 1968 campaign as the candidate's favorite conservative, and Tom Huston, a junior assistant, are responsible for a daily summary and analysis of newspaper, magazine, radio and TV news and comment, which is delivered to Mr. Nixon every morning. Whatever a President thinks he needs is automatically considered to be worthwhile, but Pat Buchanan's considerable talents seem to be wasted on such a chore. Ray Price, who wrote more of Mr. Nixon's policy speeches than anyone else on the preelection team, has a flair for and knowledge of foreign affairs that cannot be of much use at Urban Council meetings. Buchanan, Price, and the other veterans of the staff rank third in the Nixon pecking order of "assistants," "deputy assistants," "special assistants" and "staff assistants" to the President. The theory is that they will contribute to the evolution of policy in their assigned fields, but one gets the impression around the White House that they find themselves farther from the President and less involved in the policy process than they had hoped to be.

The senior Negro on the Nixon staff is Robert J. Brown, 33 this month, a former policeman, Treasury agent, and High Point, N.C., public-relations man who has the title of "special assistant." He has just hired two "staff assistants," a New York lawyer, Bruce Rabb, white, and James Sexton, a Negro who had been specializing in minority problems at the Commerce Dept. Bob Brown likes to think of himself as a Nixon generalist and says that only 20 percent of his time so far has been spent on Negro and other minority matters. His associates and the President have a different impression. At the suggestion of Roy Wilkins, director of the NAACP, Nixon dispatched Mr. Brown to Mississippi last week to check on what, if anything, was being done for the black victims of a tornado at Hazlehurst and a butane gas explosion at Laurel. Mr. Brown was summoned from his Washington home on a recent Saturday evening to mollify a group of disgruntled Negro leaders who had been ignored when they appeared at a White House gate with demands to be enlightened on what Mr. Nixon meant with his talk of "black capitalism." After a night meeting with them at a motel, Mr. Brown felt that he had reassured if not entirely satisfied them.

The word that Mr. Brown is at the White House to look after black and other minority interests has apparently been spread with more effect through the country at large than it has in Washington. He said the other day (without complaint) that nobody in officialdom had consulted him about Nixon policy on school desegregation, for instance. Mrs. Ruby Martin, who recently refused to stay on at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as chief of its civil rights office, said after she had decided to leave that she had never heard of Robert Brown. She supposed that Pat Buchanan and Deputy Assistant Harry Dent, Senator Strom Thurmond's man in the office of White House Counsel John Ehrlichman, had more than anybody else at the White House to do with her policy area. When he was told that a good many Negroes in Washington and elsewhere are still looking for a friend at the White House, Mr. Brown said, "Tell 'em

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that my door is open and to come and see me." He displays with pride letters from several black militants. One of them wrote to him from Boston, "What a joy it is to know of your appointment. It is a good move for soul people."

President Nixon's leading in-house liberal – a description that some liberals question – is his assistant for urban affairs, Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Apart from his large and sobering responsibilities for the work of the Cabinet-level Council on Urban Affairs, Moynihan provides a dash of verbal salt and pepper that nobody else around the Nixon White House dares or cares to supply. His references to "the ferocious Mr. Ziegler" (Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler) and to the latter's imagined desire that he, Moynihan, "get the hell out of here before I make some more mistakes" were deleted from the transcript of an early press briefing. His later remark that "the nut-cutting issue" within the Administration is divvying up the billions that may or may not be available for social purposes, once the Vietnam war is ended, remained on the briefing record.

Mr. Moynihan, whose long Irish face resembles a cross between the late Winston Churchill and a weeping hound, said when he went to work at the White House that his staff was going to be "young, integrated, and bushy-tailed," and it is. The one Negro on it so far is Michael C. Monroe, 31, a former Cowles Magazines editor who worked on Nixon's campaign press staff in New York and, along with his more serious concern with minority problems, handles press relations for the Urban Council. The senior deputy to Moynihan is Stephen Hess, 35, co-author of a current and admired book, "The Republican Establishment" and of an earlier biography of Nixon. John Price, 30, a lawyer and the Moynihan staff's counsel and general manager, and Christopher DeMuth, 22, are former officials of that bastion of liberal Republican dissent, the Ripon Society. Richard Blumenthal, 22, and Harvard '68, came to Moynihan from *The Washington Post*. The old man of the staff is Leonard S. Zartman, 42 (Moynihan's age), who quit his job as an Eastman Kodak attorney for a piece of the Nixon action, Moynihan style.

Ronald Ziegler, the victim of Moynihan's friendly jibes, has surprised his friends in the Nixon press corps with his firm conduct of the Press Secretary's job and office. When the going got rough during the 1968 campaign, he and his famously proficient press staff tended to crack a bit. There has been no sign of that since the Inauguration. It is as if Ziegler, aged 30, a sometime account executive in the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency's Los Angeles office and a volunteer worker for Nixon in earlier campaigns, had taken on a little of the Presidency's prestige and authority. Everyone who deals with him and his four assistants knows that the real authority in press matters rests with Herbert Klein, the President's Director of Communications, and with the President himself. But Ziegler has adjusted to this fact without diminishing himself and his job. Although he is one of the four or five staffers whose duties require them to see the President in person several times a day, he possesses and conveys none of the personal authority that gave weight to the pronouncements, public and private, of such recent predecessors as Bill D. Moyers and Pierre Salinger. His value to the press and to his boss lies simply in the fact that whatever he says, however little, is known to be precisely what President Nixon wants said for him.

Ziegler is wholly frank about this. "I would never say anything at a briefing unless I'd checked it with the President," he says, and he does check at frequent intervals. According to Ziegler and others at the White House, Mr. Nixon does not react to his press and television notices, favorable and otherwise, with the ferocity that made many an exciting moment during the Kennedy and Johnson regimes. But the accompanying pretense that Mr. Nixon really doesn't care, one way or the other, is nonsense. He often mentions the pain that cutting cartoons give him and his family, he sprinkles his press conferences and less formal appearances with references to various reporters and their work, and he manages himself in the Presidency with conscious and close regard for public effect. Ziegler's job essentially is to speak within limits for his President without ever standing between the President and the President's audience.

Leaving H. R. (Bob) Haldeman to the last in any account of the Nixon White House is likely to be regarded as heresy there. He, one of his junior assistants (Lawrence Higby), Ziegler and Dwight Chapin, a lacquered young man who sees Mr. Nixon's office visitors in and out and performs other personal services, are all recruits from the Thompson agency. Haldeman, their senior in years and rank, is commonly called the President's Chief of Staff – "the boss of this whole shebang," another assistant puts it. He and his recently appointed deputy, retired Air Force Colonel Alexander Butterfield, clear every individual and every piece of paper on their way to the President's office. The paper is checked beforehand by a sub-staff of five headed by Special Assistant Kenneth R. Cole, Jr. Haldeman is one of the few Nixon aides-in-chief who so far have officially banned all communication and contact with the working press – until, he tells his own staff, "we get shaken down." I don't mind, and readers shouldn't, either. Bob Haldeman and his seven assistants are efficient functionaries, no more. For what really matters at the Nixon White House, the wise inquirer will turn, probably with limited success, to such advisers in the actual stream of power as Henry Kissinger and Counsellor Burns.

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The Merger Boom: Who Owns What?

by Robert Dietsch

"Diversified growth company actively engaged in expansion program seeks acquisition of profitable companies to augment its own nucleus."

"We are a rapidly growing, New York Stock Exchange listed, technology based corporation grossing over $100 million. We seek continuing expansion and diversification through acquisition of profitable companies. . . . We suggest a confidential, personal meeting to explore the possibilities of a mutually profitable alliance."

"We are a high multiplier American Stock Exchange company which has made a large number of acquisitions in the last four years . . . To maintain our enviable rate of growth in earnings per share we want to acquire one or more profitable companies AT ONCE."

So the ads read in business journals, and they must be getting results. Last year there were almost 4,500 corporate mergers, of which half were considered "major" deals worth a total $28 billion. The 1968 mergers exceeded those of 1967 by 40 percent. The trend makes news only in record size, for by this time it's almost general knowledge that merger fever runs high in the nation's corporate board rooms, and that among the results has been the spawning of a new breed of enterprise called the "conglomerate" – a corporate daddy whose various offspring and parts function in totally separate kinds of markets but whose brains, if not hearts, are bonded together in, and controlled through, a single financial and administrative mastermind. What sets the conglomerate apart from other giant firms, like General Electric and General Motors, is that the latter-day wonders have grown wonderous not by internal success but by gobbling up assets of others, to such a point that a growing number (albeit a minority) of observers are wondering whether too much economic power is falling into too few hands and whether something should be done about it.

Then too, and almost unnoticed, 500 of the nation's largest commercial banks have turned themselves into "one-bank holding companies" – general business corporations, in effect, under whose umbrellas the banks become mere subsidiaries and under whose aegis a variety of enterprises can be owned, everything from loan companies to baby diaper manufacturers. In one of the most recent and biggest of such deals, the First National City Corp. – the holding company created by the nation's third largest bank – paid more than $300 million to acquire one of the country's biggest insurance holding companies, the Chubb Corp.

"Institutional investors" – mutual funds, insurance firms and pension funds – today own an estimated $200 billion worth of publicly-issued securities, about one-third of the $600 billion available. Their frenetic buying and selling of stock has even the New York Exchange worried, and the Securities and Exchange Commission is studying the influence that these rich traders have upon stock prices and even on corporate decisions. Today, mutual fund trading accounts for up to 50 percent of all volume on the New York Exchange – proof again of the new kind of economic ownership in this country. As one example, a handful of mutual funds now controls between 15 and 22 percent of the stock in 13 leading cement companies.

The extent of economic and dollar concentration as a result of these developments isn't precisely known. Sen. Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.), contends that "at the present merger rate, within a few years about two-thirds of all industrial assets will be concentrated in 200 corporations. Many are far-flung conglomerates with their hundreds of arms reaching into everything from toothpicks to aerospace." No corporate spokesman has disputed Sen. Hart's figures. What is known is that the bank-holding-company rush cannot be stopped through present law, nor can the continued growth of the financial institutions. It also seems clear that the conglomerate type of merger, by far the most prevalent, cannot be blocked by present antitrust law, although here President Nixon's new antitrust chief, Richard W. McLaren, says suits should be brought under the existing Clayton statute before Congress is asked to enact new legislation.

Some Johnson Administration officials contended new laws were needed, but the 36th President never lifted a finger to try for them. In its last days, LBJ's Cabinet Committee on Price Stability warned the merger boom is centralizing economic power to a point where our "competitive, free enterprise economy" may be seriously impaired, and that the merger trend might "threaten traditional American social and political values." It noted that "banks, railroads, broadcasters and

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utilities appear to be on the threshold of merger-directed expansion efforts matching those in the industrial sector." Banks, as should have been clear to the President's committee, have been merging rapidly and expanding ever since James Saxon liberalized bank rules during his reign as comptroller of the currency. Companies in broadcasting went through a merger and expansion boom in 1967 and 1968 that made some of their stocks among the "hottest" on Wall Street.

There have been merger booms – those in the 1880's that stopped with the panic of 1893 and resulted in the Sherman Anti-Trust Act; those from 1897 through 1903, and the closed-end investment companies that blossomed in the 1920's. What disturbs today's critics is that the impact of conglomerate mergers defies old-fashioned economic analysis and judgment. More times than not, money to buy up companies is raised not through the parent treasury or through parent borrowing but through stock market speculative fever. The mere rumor of a big merger may be enough to send prices of the stocks involved up 20 percent or more. In asset size, the fastest-growing companies in the country include conglomerates like Gulf & Western, Glen Alden, FMC and Litton Industries, yet in each case the growth is mainly attributable to external acquisition, not internal growth.

While Johnson's Cabinet Committee on Price Stability concluded that the market power flowing from greater economic concentration added to inflationary pressures, nobody has measured the power conglomerates have. The performance of their various divisions – price policies, profit or loss results – are hidden behind an accounting that tells of parental performance but nothing of offspring behavior. The annual report issued by Litton Industries is a notable example, as Lewis Gilbert, the corporate needler and critic, has pointed out. Litton is one of the biggest conglomerates, but (as Gilbert charges) its stockholders report is "notable for telling us so little." In 1967, shortly after Litton distributed a 66-page report "the veil of secrecy was pierced suddenly by open admissions from management that indeed all was not so rosy as painted, and the resulting plummeting in the market price of Litton stock came as a shock to many who should have known better." The Securities & Exchange Commission currently is seeking a new accounting rule, which would require corporations to report sales and profit-or-loss results by division – a rule that would tend to turn up any attempts to fix prices in a particular market. Hanky-panky accounting is coming in for surprisingly wide criticism, even by *Barron's* which declared in a recent issue: "Corporate accounts increasingly are dressed up to lure investors with appearances. In a harmless instance, the First National City Bank of New York decided to list in its accounts all outstanding loans without the traditional deduction of a reserve for loan losses, in order to look better in its race with the Chase Manhattan for second rank among American banks. (Bank of America is No. 1.) . . . Industrial and utility accounting is much more tricky. Steel companies have been fattening reported profits by returning to straight line depreciation of their fixed assets. Most airlines have changed accounting methods in order to improve their showing for 1968, a pretty poor year."

Critic H. L. Nieburg views the conglomerates, the principal corporate grabbers of assets, as being at the heart "of a fundamentally new economic system which at once resembles traditional private enterprise and the corporate state of fascism." However exaggerated this view, it is true that many conglomerates are part of the "industrial-military complex." In the latest list of the 100 biggest defense contractors, Ling Temco Vought (which may be the fastest-growing conglomerate of them all), ranks eighth, Textron ranks 13th, Litton 14th, International Telephone & Telegraph 29th. The last firm runs telephone systems in 123 foreign countries, and within the US rents cars (Avis), builds homes (Levitt & Sons), bakes bread (Continental Baking) and runs hotels (Sheraton).

"There could be real problems if (the conglomerates) move into agriculture," former Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman has said. "They already have contributed to bidding up land values. They can go in and farm and write off their losses as a tax deduction on a very profitable operation elsewhere. When this happens, dangerously unfair competition takes place."

One economist says that conglomerates are in much better position than one-product companies to outspend, out-dare, out-lose rivals in any particular field. The giant and diversified parent can take losses in one division to drive out competition, and with today's blanket accounting no one is any wiser. Sen. Hart has been stressing this anti-consumer tack lately, instead of talking up antitrust *per se*. "Antitrust," he commented in one recent speech, "sounds dry and complex. But it is really the day-to-day means of making competitive prices available to customers." But since economic power makes some big companies immune to traditional competitive factors and price competition, the customer suffers. Sen. Hart, in a parallel argument, says the frustration of "individualism in giant corporations means trouble getting your ideas to the top man. The layer upon layer of management between impedes this. Perhaps this is one explanation as to why so many significant inventions

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in the past few years have come from small companies."

What should be done about it?

Growing opinion says that the power of banks to diversify into nonbank fields should be stopped. Rep. Patman plans hearings to close one-bank holding company loopholes, and has an unusual ally: Chairman William McChesney Martin Jr. of the Federal Reserve Board. The two men have battled for 20 years.

Congress should pay strict attention to the SEC's "study" into the institutional investor. Already, it's generally agreed some curbs should be put on the big stock market traders.

The Federal Trade Commission has undertaken, at Sen. Hart's request, a study into the conglomerates and corporate economic power. The senator most likely will hold hearings on the findings. He already thinks new laws are needed. But Sen. Hart's antimonopoly subcommittee is loaded with conservative Southerners, as is the parent committee headed by Sen. John McClellen of Arkansas. Yet the growing criticism may bring on full-scale hearings and some action to stiffen antitrust law. One suggestion is to subject interstate corporations to federal, not state, charter. Nothing new about this idea; it was made by Presidents William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt and embraced by Woodrow Wilson. Another is to restrict corporate growth to internal expansion, not merger expansion. A third is to eliminate some of the tax advantages of certain methods of merger. Others call for government approval of mergers involving assets over a certain amount (say, $100 million) or forcing a corporation to yield assets of comparable size before it makes an acquisition.

"Unchecked giantism," Sen. Hart says, "be it political, religious or economic – has never been compatible with individualism. The lesson has been spelled out over and over in history."

Signs of Life at the FCC

by Simon Lazarus

The biggest news item out of the Federal Communications Commission in recent days was the agency's proposal to ban cigarette advertisements from the nation's airwaves, thus obliging the industry to replace a revenue source worth $250 million annually. But the cigarette order may prove less consequential than a series of relatively unnoticed developments at the Commission concerning problems of concentration of control over the media. In mid-January, in four license renewal proceedings, local media fiefdoms were thrown into varying degrees of jeopardy in Boston, Salt Lake City, Chicago, and Cheyenne. On February 8, the FCC announced plans for a wide-ranging investigation into the recent invasion of broadcasting by large conglomerate corporations, raising the possibility of future restrictions against licensee ownership of extensive non-broadcast interests.

These events may be prelude to a period of unprecedented self-renewal by an agency long notorious for its subservience to industry demands. At a minimum, they show that the Commission's old guard feels itself on the defensive. If pressure can be maintained by the Department of Justice and the new private ombudsmen who together are mainly responsible for the FCC's focus on media concentration, dramatic changes in the economic structure of the mass media may be in store. Already these external agencies have shown more capacity to influence bureaucratic performance than early New Frontiersmen demonstrated in trying to impose liberal policies from the top.

Action against conglomerate licensees cannot yet be considered a live possibility, but the Commission's developing concern with local media concentrations could ripen into stiffer policies within the next few months. Already, one $50 million broadcast license has fallen by the wayside. On January 22, a 3-1 majority (three members abstained) refused to renew the authority held by WHDH, Inc., to operate Boston's channel 5, WHDH-TV. Affiliated with CBS, WHDH, Inc. is a subsidiary of the Boston *Herald-Traveler*. The proceeding was a comparative renewal hearing, in which the incumbent licensee's right to continue in operation was contested by competing applicants. Such cases virtually never occur, because of the Commission's traditional policy of treating a licensee's past performance as automatic evidence of superior future performance, even if the station had in fact broadcast

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virtually nothing but programs packaged in network studios. This rule transformed three-year licenses into the permanent property of licensees, defeasible only on their initiative. But in WHDH, the rule was changed; the Commission held that merely average program performance entitled the incumbent to no special treatment. As a result, a group of local Boston businessmen calling their association Boston Broadcasters, Inc., were awarded the *Herald-Traveler's* license; unlike the newspaper, they could argue that giving channel 5 to them would promote diversification of control over Boston's mass media.

The Commission may not adhere to its new rule; massive pressures are no doubt being mounted on Commissioner James J. Wadsworth, whose deciding vote against the *Herald-Traveler* contrasted sharply with his accustomed conservatism. Conceivably, Wadsworth could be persuaded to reverse himself when the case is reconsidered, before it goes to the D.C. Circuit Court on appeal. But if the WHDH rule stands, other competing applicants like Boston Broadcasters will surely appear, especially in those thirty of the top fifty TV markets in which a local newspaper owns one of the alluring VHF's. Altogether, *Broadcasting* magazine warned its nervous readers in the trade, more than $3 billion worth of broadcast licenses are potentially threatened by the decision.

One prime target for such an attack may be the Mormon Church, which narrowly escaped a fate similar to that of the Boston *Herald-Traveler* the same day that WHDH came down. In this case, there was no competing applicant, but only a petition to deny renewal filed by two inexpert but intrepid Utah citizens. They sought divestiture of the Mormons' 50,000 watt clear-channel AM station, KSL of Salt Lake City; KSL is the hub of the nation's most imposing regional media empire, which includes a commercial and an educational TV in Salt Lake City (the commercial TV is beamed into all but three Utah counties by 71 relay "translator" stations), two commercial and one educational radio stations in the same city, and the morning newspaper; the paper is linked to its afternoon "competitor" by a joint publishing and business operating agreement equivalent to an agreement between Tucson's newspapers that has been attacked in court by the Department of Justice. The Church's challengers lost – but only by a 3-3 tie vote (Freshman Commissioner H. Rex Lee, a member of the Mormon Church, abstained – although Chairman Rosel H. Hyde, also a Mormon, participated and voted for renewal).

At least if they are able to retain counsel for a court appeal, these petitioners may yet find success. Their case is much stronger than a similar citizens' challenge, in which the Commission was obliged to order a hearing in a decision released January 17. The target of this attack was the Tribune Company of Chicago, owner of a morning and an afternoon newspaper in that city (and of the nation's largest newspaper chain in terms of the total circulation of its Sunday and daily holdings), of Chicago's only independent VHF television station, and a powerful AM radio station which, like the Mormons' KSL, operates on a clear channel with 50,000 watts of power. Not content with these Chicago outlets, the Tribune asked FCC permission to buy the city's most popular FM station, WFMT. A hastily assembled "Citizens' Committee to Save WFMT" petitioned the Commission to deny the Tribune's application to acquire WFMT's license. After the Commission turned their request down, the Citizens' Committee appealed and obtained a stern reversal from the D.C. Circuit Court. Chastened, the Commission designated the case for a hearing. The Citizens' Committee has now coalesced into a substantial organization, well-prepared to prosecute the case through the labyrinth of the FCC's administrative hearing process, and, perhaps, move on to other local and even national ventures aimed at diversifying control of the media.

The growth of voluntary organizations like the Citizens' Committee to Save WFMT is one of the features of the emerging regulatory environment which makes durable change seem possible. The second new factor is the Department of Justice, which accounted for the fourth recent assault on a local cluster of communications interests. This case concerns Cheyenne, Wyoming, where Frontier Broadcasting, Inc., owns one of the two commercial television stations, the city's only full-time AM radio station, a construction permit for its second FM, the only local daily and Sunday newspapers, as well as the franchise to operate a cable TV system. Alleging "an almost total absence of competition in the dissemination of local news and advertising . . . in the Cheyenne area," Justice demanded that the Commission renew Frontier's TV license, only on condition that the license be sold immediately.

Unless the Commission wants to repeat its embarrassment in the ABC-ITT merger case, when Antitrust Chief Donald F. Turner took the FCC to court, it will set Frontier's renewal application down for a hearing. Given the strength of the Department's case, it seems that Frontier Broadcasting's days as a television owner in Cheyenne are numbered – as long as higher powers do not persuade present Antitrust Chief McClaren to drop the case.

Since ABC-ITT first tweaked the Antitrust Division's interest in dissolving the fast embrace between the FCC and the protagonists of the broadcasting industry, the Department has intervened in numerous Commission proceedings, of which Frontier Broadcasting is only the most recent and by no means the most significant. As of February 8, the way is open for a new attack on the problem that originally drew Justice into the ABC-ITT case itself – the increasing ten-

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dency of broadcast outlets to fall into the hands of major conglomerate corporations, with interests ranging from defense and aerospace to entertainment. The Commission has announced an inquiry into the problem. The announcement was timed to coincide with the Commission's latest wholesale approval of transfers to conglomerate purchasers (three cases involving sales to Avco, Fuqua Industries, and the ubiquitous Mormon Church, which has substantial business, mining, and real estate holdings in addition to its media); it was quite obviously inspired mainly by a perceived need to blunt criticism of current policies, not to lay the groundwork for changing them. Still, the inquiry will provide an unprecedented public forum for the airing of urgent questions about the social and political role of conglomerates if the Department of Justice and other interested parties see to it that the industry's views are not the only ones presented.

If these pressures from outside the FCC continue to build, a new and demanding test will be at hand for the liberal precepts that underlay the creation of the Commission, and for the liberal leaders who presently occupy posts inside the agency. Commissioners Robert W. Bartley, Kenneth A. Cox, and Nicholas Johnson have fought a determined struggle to make the Commission take seriously its rhetorical commitment to structuring media ownership in a manner that guarantees the "widest possible dissemination of views from diverse and antagonistic sources." If this commitment actually becomes a significant Commission policy, these dissenters must frame workable solutions for the sensitive problems which will then arise. Literally billions of dollars worth of broadcast franchises will be up for grabs. Good intentions will be no insurance against repeating the calamitous experience of the 1950's, when many of the existing television licenses were first handed out. Allocations in each market were made on a case-by-case basis. The standards which supposedly guided decisions were indefinite beyond the point of meaninglessness and even self-contradictory. Inevitably, corruption was widely alleged, and, in one case, it was proven; one Commissioner was forced to resign.

To save itself from the risk of more such humiliation, the Commission must cease to shroud its policies in impenetrable case-by-case determinations – like WHDH-Boston. Flat rules must be laid down. It is in this regard that the leverage represented by the new Commissioner's swing-vote may most beneficially be used. Rather than make his position prior to each individual case a mystery, he should throw his support behind the formulation of sensible bright-line criteria to guide the building of a new order in the broadcasting industry. The premise for such an initiative can be found in WHDH itself: the United States government has no business fostering the sort of influence over local affairs inherent in joint ownership of a daily newspaper (usually a monopoly paper) and broadcast stations, especially a television outlet. If the FCC makes a clear commitment to this principle, permitting few if any exceptions, it can survive the political storms that appear to lie ahead.

Auto Insurance

No Risks Preferred

by James Ridgeway

Efforts to reform automobile insurance are dragging along. The Senate antitrust subcommittee, led by Philip Hart of Michigan, held one set of hearings last summer and is about to begin another. The Transportation Department is in the midst of a two-year study of the insurance system.

The insurance companies are plunged into an internecine warfare over what to do about the government. Companies in the American Insurance Association, which writes 35 percent of the business, aren't opposed to federal regulation in principle, and they are for changing around the business to make it more efficient and fairer. But the mutuals and big independent firms, State Farm and Allstate, so far are against government interference. The lawyers are banked solid against any change whatever: they stand to lose money. The agents, represented in Washington by President Nixon's former law firm, are fearful they

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will be sacrificed in a reform. In fact, there isn't much prospect of any change soon. The new Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Volpe, opposed reform of auto insurance while he was governor of Massachusetts, and the possibility of an anti-industry study emerging from the department is dubious. President Nixon himself has maintained close ties with the insurance people, most recently as a director of Mutual of New York and over the years through a friendship with the Kemper family, which runs Lumberman's Mutual, a prominent auto insurer.

Yet the reasons for a change in this industry are pretty compelling. The companies, which do about $10 billion in business a year, are charging higher and higher rates, while at the same time refusing to insure a growing number of people they deem to be poor risks. The insurance companies maintain their only consideration in issuing policies is whether a person has a bad driving record. They deny accusations of discrimination by color and class.

At an inquiry into the industry's practices, Senator Hart tried to find out how the companies determine who is eligible to buy insurance.

Jasper Reports, Inc., of Chicago, makes a business of providing insurance companies with reports on prospective policy holders. The Hart committee asked Fred Jasper, president of the company, to tell the committee about his work.

Hart asked Jasper: ". . . One of the reports contains information to the effect that the inside housekeeping of the person who is being investigated was satisfactory. Now what has that to do with driving ability?"

Jasper: "Oh, I do not think it has anything to do with driving, but I think it perhaps to some degree portrays the general overall reputation and I think perhaps a case might be made for the fact that an individual who lives in what you might classify as a pigpen might conceivably take the same care of their automobile from a mechanical standpoint. It is conjecture very obviously, but I think this would be a consideration and I think this is what underwriters were looking at if they found that people were living in a pigpen, a little concerned that they were careless in the care of their automobile."

Hart: "Well, how about the report that shows that the person was married and divorced before she was 20 and her family was very 'standoffish.' Now, what relevance is that to the driving ability of the lady?"

Jasper: "Let us take the first part where you said she was married and divorced before she was 20. Nothing other than perhaps to portray instability."

Hart: "Or bad judgment with respect to mates but not necessarily to traffic?"

Jasper: "A degree or irresponsibility . . . but we are always weighing these things. We are reporting them as we find them and an underwriter uses this along with many other things."

Hart: "And the fact that her family was standoffish?"

Jasper: "Well, that – no. I think perhaps the inspector may have been using that in defense of being unable to develop as much personal information as he might have been unable to otherwise. That is a defensive explanation."

Hart: ". . . You have got a report in here that indicates the subject was living with a woman suspected not to be his wife. Now, how does this bear on his driving ability?"

Jasper: "I do not know that it would affect the driving but it might portray a situation where they were completely disdainful of the accepted mores, the accepted patterns of behavior, a little disregard for anybody else."

Hart: "Well, with respect to these three categories – slovenly housekeeping, early marriage, and divorce, and living with somebody not your wife – what, if any, statistical data exists to show that these individuals are bad driving risks?"

Jasper: "Well, we do not compile any statistics at all. We are only in the reporting business and we are reporting information to the companies which down through the years they have requested be included in the reports. Now this is a constantly changing thing. Things that were important five years ago are no longer regarded as being important by many companies."

Jasper is the author of "A Confidential Report on Environmental Conditions in the Metropolitan Chicago Area." The book is provided to the industry as a guide to underwriting auto insurance. In The Confidential Report, Jasper breaks down metropolitan Chicago into ethnic areas: Polish, Jew, hillbilly, black. Of the Mexicans, he has this to say: "These Mexicans are for the most part well behaved, but a few do drink to excess and many of them are illiterate and many cannot speak English. These Mexicans should be inspected carefully for auto insurance."

Jasper Reports is not a little company. Customers for its ethnic guide include more than 50 of the largest insurance companies in the nation, including Allstate and State Farm, the two giants.

Insurance people deny they discriminate against blacks. Jasper said that only one-third of his customers worried about race, and he decided to drop the category lest he get caught at some later date. Joe T. Kelly, president of the Georgia Association of Independent Insurance Agents, put it this way: "No company represented in our office, and no other company that I am familiar with employs a blanket prohibition on either race, color or creed. Although it is true today, up until about 12 or 15 years ago the opposite, on a very limited basis was true. Admittedly, Negroes – who comprise, I suppose, about 25 percent or 30

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percent of the population in my areas – have more difficulty buying automobile insurance at the more attractive level than is true of white people. However, race is not the reason for this: the reason is the higher incidence of undesirable risk history."

J. Victor Herd, chairman, Continental Insurance Companies of New York, gave the subcommittee a copy of his firm's underwriting manual. It warns the underwriter to watch out for bad risks, including merchant seamen, oil field employees, farm workers, waiters, janitors, painters, bellhops, unemployed persons and taxicab drivers. The manual goes on to tell the agents to be on the look out for different sorts of bad risks: "The divorced or separated male is, in our opinion, more undesirable than the man who has never married. The same is true in comparing the divorcee and the unmarried female. Some divorced persons are the innocent victims of circumstances. Others . . . because they are emotionally unstable. That is almost sure to be the situation with the person who has been divorced twice. We should leave them alone."

The manual says, "Also stay away from the exhibitionist who overdecorates his car with fox tails, fender fins, mud flaps, boxing gloves, baby shoes, spot lights and other ornaments. He is not likely to be a very conservative or considerate driver."

The insurance companies make this sort of arbitrary judgment about whom they sell to in order to narrow the market to those "preferred risks" who have not had an accident and aren't likely to have one. So while the population generally increases and the need for insurance mounts, the industry works to narrow its market. While the companies skim the preferred risks, they are forever asking the state insurance companies for higher rates. They claim drivers are getting worse all the time and inflation is running costs up with the result that they are losing money and in some cases are on the verge of going out of business.

The companies are able to make these claims for several reasons. For one, the insurance commissions have been allowing them to mix methods of accounting, shifting off in midstream from accrual to cash – which gives the impression of a loss when in fact there is a profit. (*NR*, Dec. 3, 1966). Moreover, the companies have not taken into account investment income in setting rates. In addition, they play a political charade with the commissions. Inefficient companies make a plea for higher rates through a rating bureau. The big companies support the request. Once granted, the big companies undercut the ceiling, creating the impression of a bargain.

Senator Hart introduced figures at the hearings which showed that in 1967 the 10 largest stock property and casualty companies reported an underwriting loss of $273 million. But when the accounting method was changed to the type generally accepted by corporations, the loss turned into a profit of $55 million. Neither of these figures included net income from investment of the same 10 companies. That came to $1.7 billion.

Richard Norgaard of the University of Southern California, testified before the subcommittee that casualty insurance companies are earning greater rates of profits than 90 percent of some 640 leading American corporations. For instance, his study showed that Allstate, an industry leader, had a 24.6 percent profit. (However, a study by Arthur D. Little Co., commissioned by the industry, claimed that over a 10-year period the return was only 4.4 percent.)

The arguments over whether the auto insurance companies are making or losing money are muddy. But it's possible to get a clue to the business by looking at the way the companies themselves discuss income to their stockholders. Continental, for instance, reported to stockholders in 1966 and 1967 that it lost 28 cents a share, based on statutory accounting; but once the income was adjusted, it showed an underwriting profit of $1.61 per share. (This did not include investment income.)

These figures don't convince the state insurance commissioners, who long have been pawns of the industry. In 1965, there were rate increases in 40 states; the next year rates went up in 23; in 1967, they were allowed to increase in 25.

In the past couple of years a few commissioners and small groups of lawyers have opposed the industry's demand for higher rates in Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, New Jersey and a handful of other states. But it's a losing battle. When Charles Howell, the New Jersey commissioner, disapproved a proposed 20.6 percent rate increase last year, the industry retaliated. William T. Cahill, a New Jersey congressman who wants to reform the industry, says 50,000 cancellation notices were sent motorists, business people and homeowners in the first few months after the decision. Agents' commissions throughout the state were slashed, and the agents were denied binding authority to write insurance. Cahill quotes a letter from a major insurance company to an agent that says: "It is required that you not bind us on any new private passenger-automobile risks . . . after receipt of this letter . . . you may submit applications without binders for new family automobile policies when we are, in your judgment, the logical carrier because of other lines that we now have for the applicant." In other words, the only way to get auto insurance was to take out home, fire and life insurance along with it. Or it was possible to get insurance by signing a "consent to rate" provision in the New Jersey law, a clause which in effect waives the individual's rights to legal rates and allows the company to charge him higher prices at its discretion.

The object of perfecting techniques to exploit the

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"preferred risk" market is to assure the insurance companies a steady flow of cash that can be plowed into investments. Insurance companies are really disguised investment trusts. The investment side of the business is the most interesting and profitable line of work, and in recognition of the possibilities the entire industry has been on the move to reorganize itself so as to take better advantage of the insurance company as investment bank. In some cases this has meant merging with an industrial conglomerate; in others shifting the stock of the insurance company to a holding company, which then buys other types of businesses, and in effect, turns the business into a conglomerate. Here are examples of this trend: Teledyne, an electronics-based conglomerate, bought six insurance companies during the past few months and is bidding on a seventh. ITT, which already owns one insurance company, is bidding on a second. Lykes Co., the shipbuilders, and Walter Kidde & Co., well known for its fire extinguishers, both have purchased insurance companies. Leasco, a data processing firm, picked up Reliance Insurance. Gulf & Western bought Providence Washington Insurance; American Express purchased Fireman's Fund.

At the same time, insurance companies have transformed themselves into "hybrid conglomerates," as they are sometimes called – hybrid because they specialize in financial services related to insurance such as mutual funds, small loans, variable annuities, etc. For example, the Continental National American Insurance group (CNA) formed the CNA Financial Corp., a holding company, which controls the insurance company stock. CNA Financial then bought out Tsai Mutual Fund and General Finance Corp., thereby putting it in both mutual funds and small loans as well as insurance.

A conglomerate offers the possibility of tie-in markets (selling insurance to your own employees), as well as the steady cash flow that permits further acquisitions. Or the insurance company's bank can be put to such use as in the following case: Last year National General Corp., a Los Angeles based company that distributes movies and develops real estate, bought 75 percent of the stock of the Great American Holding Corp., which owns Great American Insurance Co. National General put 14 men on the insurance company's 17 member board of directors. Last year, Great American paid a dividend of $2.80 per share. In January of this year, however, the new board of directors voted a stock dividend worth $55 a share.

Banks and insurance companies are moving from opposite directions toward the re-creation of the old fashioned investment trust. As Congressman Wright Patman's long study of banks indicates, insurance companies already own a considerable amount of bank stock, and the two businesses are intimately connected through a series of interlocking directorates. Patman's study shows 81 people holding interlocking positions among six New York commercial banks and various insurance companies.

Not long ago First National City Bank bought Chubb & Son, a management company that owns insurance companies. The acquisition puts this huge bank directly into the insurance business. CNA Financial, the insurance holding company, controls a bank in Chicago. Thus, through the holding company device a large insurance company goes directly into banking. Banks and insurance companies aren't the only kinds of companies that are moving to form investment trusts. This is a general business trend. Model conglomerates are organized around a bank of some sort and a management core. The management acts as a brokerage, dipping into the bank to buy subsidiaries. When they don't produce, they are sold off.

The point is that while the Transportation Department works on studies of insurance systems, the entire industry is changing. In all likelihood any study of the insurance business will turn out to be irrelevant, unless it is accompanied by some effort to come to grips with the new investment conglomerates.

A moderate reform of automobile insurance probably would require devising a more "efficient" system – removal of lawyers who argue the cases and run the prices up, or getting rid of agents whose commissions jack up the price. The government might also assume general supervisory powers over insurance, and through a corporation modeled on the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., check books, make sure the companies stay solvent, that they don't discriminate against blacks or Mexicans and that there is competition in the industry, which, in turn, will bring about reduced rates. Proposals along these lines are now coming from within Congress as well as from the more progressive sector of the industry.

But such reforms won't change the insurance industry's ability to fix rates. The object of the game will stay the same: milk the driver to feed the investment trust.

Congressman Cahill suggests removing small auto insurance claims, which constitute the bulk of the business, to a federal agency that would compensate victims of accidents regardless of fault for out-of-pocket expenses to a maximum of $2,500. The simplest and most expeditious way to provide automobile insurance is for the government to run the business, perhaps through the social security system. Everyone in the nation should be covered by automobile, life and accident and health insurance. Medicare is a feeble beginning in this general direction. Perhaps Senator Hart can be persuaded to broaden his antitrust inquiry into the insurance business and compare the US system with insurance programs in places like New Zealand and some of the Canadian provinces.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Stolen Kisses
Lopert

Pierrot le Fou
Pathe Contemporary

I had the same experience at François Truffaut's *Stolen Kisses* that I had at Polanski's picture *Rosemary's Baby*: again I realized I had to stop judging the director by his earliest work. Truffaut's *The 400 Blows, Shoot the Piano Player,* and *Jules and Jim* were serious films made in a highly idiosyncratic style. *The Soft Skin* retained that style but showed a curious paralysis of humor, which allowed Truffaut to use trite material quite tritely, with a ridiculous melodramatic ending. *Fahrenheit 451* reminded me in reverse of Disney's hippo trying to be a ballerina: this was a ballerina trying to be a weight lifter. *The Bride Wore Black* was an arted-up, not-quite-slick thriller. Now with *Stolen Kisses* Truffaut has made a very entertaining romance, full of good feeling but almost devoid of his style, much as if he were stepping deliberately into the general France - for - export business. Polanski began as an investigator of the horror of life and is now a successful maker of horror entertainment. Truffaut's hallmark was lyrical exploration of love and sex, and he has now made a skillful boulevard comedy.

The young hero is discharged from the army, outside Paris, as a psychological misfit. He had been in love, unsuccessfully, and had presumably enlisted because of the girl. Now he pursues her again without success, although she is cordial enough. He has a number of jobs and affairs. At last he wins his girl by quarreling with her and by being busy when she calls. Except for incidental present-day ingredients, the recipe is classic French cuisine. Truffaut skirts dangerously near the stale with such consciously Gallic touches as much of the music and some glory-of-Paris shots (the boy opening his window on a view of Sacre Coeur); and he even sinks so imaginatively low as to trace a trail of discarded shoes to two lovers in bed. At no point does the film reach the heights of the best Truffaut poetry, of which there were traces even in *The Bride Wore Black;* still there are sequences that would be high points for a lesser man. The overhead shot when the discharged soldier gets off the bus and runs across the square. His movement through the empty shop where he works, following the sound of a song – to discover his boss's beautiful wife. The youth shaving, chanting into the mirror his own name and those of his two loves in a kind of manic ritual. The girl's mysterious pursuer revealed as an admirer, not a private eye. These scenes are better than mere charm-mongering, which most of the film does well enough.

The youth is played – appealingly – by Jean-Pierre Léaud, who was the boy in *The 400 Blows,* but it would be pat and mistaken, I think, to conclude that *Stolen Kisses* is any kind of sequel; the power to give, or even to withhold, is not what lay ahead of that boy. Delphine Seyrig, the boss's wife, is exactly the kind of mature beauty that any youth would dream about – particularly a dream in which she comes to his bedroom and offers herself to him on condition that they never see each other again. Claude Jade is refreshing as the girl.

The course of Truffaut's career indicates that he began as an artist with something to say, said it, and is now left, in his late thirties, with much executant ability and nothing that he himself really wants to do; so he will hunt up occasions to use his ability. If this is not all that his first films promised, he'll probably provide us with lots of pleasure. The inverse of that sentence is also true: if he provides us with lots of pleasure, that is not all that his first films promised.

His contemporary, Jean-Luc Godard, is a quite different subject. Or problem. Godard made *Pierrot le Fou* six features ago (at this writing), far back in 1965. I saw it at the New York Film Festival the following year and disliked it. It's now released here, and after *La Chinoise* and *Weekend,* I like it even less.

A Parisian TV writer (Jean-Paul Belmondo) is suffocating in his marriage to a rich, pretty, dull Italian girl. (Godard likes to kid foreign accents in French: Jean Seberg in *Breathless,* the Italian girl here.) Belmondo suddenly runs off one night with the baby-sitter, Anna Karina. Complications of murder and torture follow from her previous involvement with gangsters and gunrunners. The pair flee to the Riviera and try to have an idyll; the gangsters follow. It all ends with Belmondo's shooting her, then committing suicide by tying dynamite around his head after painting his face blue. Why waste the resources of color film?

The story would be trite – a mod *Elvira Madigan* – if it asked for any attention as such. It would also be incredible. That this mousy little baby-sitter is also involved with killers and is undisturbed by a corpse in the next room on the night that she and her lover first go to bed, all this would be ludicrous if we were meant to take the narrative seriously. But in a frantic way Godard is deliberately fracturing story logic, using narrative only as a scaffolding for acrobatics, cinematic and metaphysical. The question is whether those acrobatics are consistently amusing and/or enlightening. I think not.

There is the usual Godard barrage of devices, standard even by 1965: verbal-visual puns (VIE in neon turns out to be part of RIVIERA); editing that goes backward, forward, and sideways in time; saturation in film references. Water torture is reprised from *Le Petit Soldat.* There are anticipations: closeups of comic-strip violence, which prefigure *La Chinoise;* a ghastly auto accident used in *tableau mort,* which prefigures *Weekend* – as does a 360-degree pan when the lovers debark from a small boat. In short, more grist for the movie-buff mills.

For me, the film is a function of three boredoms. (I exclude my own.) The hero is bored by his Parisian life, which precipitates the story. The girl is soon bored by the tranquil island where he takes her, which brings about their deaths. And, principally, Godard is very soon bored. I think that the whole film after they flee the girl's Paris apartment is a series of strategems to keep Godard himself from falling asleep: improvisations, high-school philosophizing, grotesqueries, and supersanguinary violence. His mind almost seems to have flown ahead to his next film while he is faced with the need to finish this one. Boredom has been a (one may say) vital element in art from Gogol and De Musset to Beckett and Ionesco, but in

(Continued on page 34)

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Francis Pierce: Welfare on the Cheap

Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty by Daniel P. Moynihan

(The Free Press; $5.95)

One of the most remarkable products of the Johnson Administration was the War on Poverty, now being de-escalated by Nixon's peaceable businessmen. The War on Poverty may be remembered because it popularized the idea of community action – that controversial and protean idea which Robert Kennedy took to mean "the involvement of the poor in planning and implementing programs: giving them a real voice in their institutions." Giving the poor a "real voice" is hardly a novel idea, and social movements all through history have involved popular action. The new thing about Sargent Shriver's Community Action Programs was that they were set up and financed by the federal government to generate action in places where none existed.

The poverty warriors never had much money to spend – which doomed them to failure from the start – but they organized a thousand Community Action Programs around the country and convulsed innumerable city halls with the message that poverty was about to be abolished. It all blew up in the summer of 1967, when the fires of Detroit, Newark and other cities suggested that something was wrong with the strategy. The president of General Motors, watching from the roof of his office building as smoke rose over the slums of Detroit, might be pardoned for concluding that a better way had to be found.

To be sure, the men who wrote the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 did not see it as a means of stirring up the masses. In fact they were notably unclear as to what they intended, particularly by the stipulation that the CAP's be "developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served. . . ." The careless lawyer's phrase "maximum feasible participation" caused endless difficulties later on, especially when some took it to mean that the poor were actually to be allowed to run the show, rather than having it run for them by political bosses and welfare bureaucrats.

Daniel Moynihan, President Nixon's Special Assistant for Urban Affairs, was one of the men who helped put together the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. He has undertaken to pursue it to its beginnings, political and theoretical, in a book quaintly titled *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*. Moynihan, 41, an Irish Catholic who has spent much of his life in Democratic politics in New York State, came to Washington with the New Frontiersmen in 1961. He fell afoul of what he calls the liberal Left in 1965, when as an Assistant Secretary of Labor he issued a report on the destruction of the Negro family in the cities of the North – designed, as he later wrote, to shake the complacency of the Administration and make it see that policies to alleviate poverty ought to be oriented toward strengthening the family. He had in mind such useful – and expensive – reforms as family allowances and guaranteed employment. He has said elsewhere that the period following the assassination of President Kennedy was an unusual time, a historical moment when "the nation had the resources, and the leadership, and the will to make a *total* as against a partial commitment to the cause of Negro equality." In other words, to push for jobs and income instead of being satisfied with civil rights laws. Moynihan succeeded in getting President Johnson to make a major speech on the Negro family at Howard University, but his ideas failed of public acceptance and the policies of the War on Poverty continued as they had begun. He now holds that the involvement with community action only helped to shorten that moment of opportunity.

His argument against the community action idea is that it is based on a false theory of social action – or at any rate on a theory that can't be proved. This theory holds that the pathology of slum life – particularly juvenile delinquency and gang activity – results from alienation caused by a crumbling of social structure. It follows from this view that one solution is to restructure the life of the poor by mobilizing people to work toward common, constructive ends. The theory won favor in the Ford Foundation and first took form in the Mobilization for Youth set up on New York's Lower East Side in 1962, financed by the Ford Foundation, the City of New York and the federal government. From there the concept of community action spread to other cities; it also became part of the intellectual baggage of the Kennedy Administration.

Community action appealed to the policy makers in part because it seemed to promise maximum results from a minimum investment of funds. It also promised to rescue middle-class reformers and social workers from the charge that they were imposing their own values on the people they wanted to serve. In the words of Paul Ylvisaker, then of the Ford Foundation, it represented the "social application of the art of jujitsu: of exerting smaller forces at points of maximum leverage to capture larger forces otherwise working against us." In the outcome it was not always clear who had done the capturing, or whether there were any large forces at work.

At their zenith the Community Action Programs were a fantastically complex phenomenon, criticized in some cases for being too radical and in others for being bureaucratic. Much depended on where they were and who

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was involved. Moynihan sums them up this way:

> "Seemingly it comes to this. Over and again, the attempt by official and quasi-official agencies (such as the Ford Foundation) to organize poor communities led first to the radicalization of the middle-class persons who began the effort; next to a certain amount of stirring among the poor, but accompanied by heightened racial antagonism *on the part of the poor* if they happened to be black; next to retaliation from the larger white community; whereupon it would emerge that the community action agency, which had talked so much, been so much in the headlines, promised so much in the way of change in the fundamentals of things, was powerless. A creature of a Washington bureaucracy subject to discontinuation without notice. Finally, much bitterness all around."

Perhaps inevitably, his book takes on the quality of a polemic against the sociologists and social workers who developed the theoretical basis upon which the Ford Foundation and the Office of Economic Opportunity built the community action programs; or more precisely, against those of them who wanted to test their theory on the people of the slums and ghettos. "Professional persons were too willing by half to see public funds, and tax-free private funds, employed on a vast scale to further what was in effect a political agenda of a fairly small group of intellectuals." One is tempted to reply that it is about time professional people stopped behaving like Victorian ladies and began to compete at the public trough with the textile interests, the oil men, the military men, the highway builders and other non-professionals.

Social science has its limitations, but to say as Moynihan does that its role "lies not in the formulation of social policy, but in the measurement of its results" is to portray social scientists as learned astronomers staring forever at heavens they cannot enter. The divorce won't work. Measurement is all very well, and let there be more of it, but just as the growth of economic statistics that Moynihan hails has not removed uncertainty from the policy recommendations of economists (nor done away with their quarreling schools) neither will more social statistics provide us with a program for abolishing poverty. People in high places who draft social policies will just have to recognize the limitations of those who come bearing blueprints.

The absurdities of the War on Poverty were, after all, a repetition of an old story: the failure of intelligence in Washington, where compromise and expediency generally prevail over mind. In Moynihan's words, "We constantly underestimate difficulties, overpromise results, and avoid any evidence of incompatibility and conflict, thus repeatedly creating the conditions of failure out of a desperate desire for success."

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Lore Segal: Square Bananas

Strong Wind by Miguel Angel Asturias

Translated by Gregory Rabassa
(Delacorte Press; $6.95)

There are no kicks left, these days, in knocking a Nobel-prize-winning novelist, it has been done so regularly, but *Strong Wind* is in the main a disappointing book.

There is a very unfair law continually demonstrated in our experiences, and set down by that eminent aesthetician, Dr. Seuss, in speaking of his early days as a cartoonist: He remembers how the advent of the *New Yorker's* one line caption made the old two liners sound square. It is unfair that what was good and true yesterday, and is still good and true today cannot be written again, but goodness and truth have had accretions overnight, and when stated in yesterday's terms – square. Asturias' political protest novel has a 1930's theme and cast of characters. It isn't that we fail in sympathy for his workers or in indignation against the system, but that the very familiarity and facility of these responses modify them, and we yawn.

Strong Wind is the first volume of a projected trilogy dealing with the Tropbanana Company. The opening pages set the panoramic scene of a tropical landscape torn apart and remade for a single purpose: the planting, nurturing and transportation of bananas. Even the poorest workers at the bottom of the capitalist pyramid feel the brutal magnificence of this enterprise, "this adventure," and suffer

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their arduous labor and the health-wrecking climate with pride. The peasants come from inland where their own lands have been "worked for centuries [until] the good soil had been washed away leaving mountains all limestone." They have been promised "a lot, but many many goldbacked banknotes clinging to clothesracks, that's what just one leaf of a banana tree is like . . . and bunches . . . a lot of green banknotes all pressed together." In the boom years the pay is good, corn liquor plentiful; the company is paternal. A man can save and buy land for his sons and lie awake "adding and multiplying to see how much they would plant, how many bunches of bananas they would get, and what they would get paid for each bunch."

Asturias elides time. The American adventurers who have created the banana republic have "perished in the adventure itself" and been replaced by technicians and bureaucrats. "We're robots, denied life . . . who aren't good or bad, happy or sad, just machines," says Pyle the Drunken American. "Whatever they are, when they are down here," says Mead, the Good American, "they are all the same and what is worse, especially with the good people, is that in their job they turn into . . . what Macario was going to say," and what Macario had been going to say was a very dirty word. The boom years are over. The company pays less and less for bananas and finally refuses to buy "at any price." There are signs of revolt among the workers. The vermin of the system come crawling out, the lawyers, the press, professionals in the pay of the faceless stockholders. Mead goes to Chicago to intercede with the man at the pinnacle, the "Green Pope," a true fictional stock figure. "The Green Pope looked at him with his caterpillar eyes . . . they were powerful, unexpressive, firm little eyes made of the lead used for bullets."

Mead is talking about people and produce. "If the stockholders only knew what it is like to . . . plant a banana tree . . . to take [the fruit] off to be sold . . . to wait under the sun . . . filling themselves up with illusions about the benefits . . . of honest work and suddenly to receive a negative answer . . . and a person is left with the corpse of a living thing . . . a green reality" . . . etc., etc., etc. All this is alien to the Green Pope, a creature of "futures written in chalk on the blackboards of the New York Exchange," and his answer is, "We are a commercial enterprise, Mr. Mead . . . not a mutual aid society." Asturias is saying that if capitalism does not set out to be evil, the profit motive in combination with power, unrelieved by humanity, will when thwarted become Machiavellian and deadly.

Mead comes back and forms a cooperative with his peasant friends. He teaches them to fight power with toughness, deviousness and personal frugality which makes them independent, and then leads them into prosperity. That Mead has secret powers becomes evident to the reader before it seems to strike his associates, but as this is the thin thread of suspense, we won't tell.

The publicity releases that come with Asturias' novel claim that "as a stylist and innovator he has been compared with Faulkner and Joyce" (and very helpful it is, to be told in whose style your writer is innovating), but we are dealing with a translation. The prize-winning and usually excellent Gregory Rabassa has not done well by this novel. Within the first thirty pages he has committed every crime in the translator's canon. He has failed to catch, or to preserve within a single conversation, a speaker's tone: "Don't be foolish . . . I wasn't no kid." He fails either to find an adequate translation or drop a figure of speech in the original, "For having dough, you mean, because without that goldy little fellow. . . ." He clings to Spanish constructions: "Lucero answered him that from the station, no." We take it on faith that Asturias is better than Rabassa's version of him. Mr. Rabassa's Mr. Asturias is baroque; there is more than the palate requires, more than it can take, yet at bottom much of it is wonderful. Asturias is very nice about the affections: a man with his sons is like "a tree with several coconuts on it, as he touched the three heads. . . ." Mead kisses his wife and she feels beautiful and wants "everyone to see her like that, dressed in her husband's kisses." Some of Asturias' peasants speak wittily and movingly of their poverty: "I get a feeling that the things coming out of the ground aren't leaves anymore, they're dead chicken feathers." But sometimes they go into

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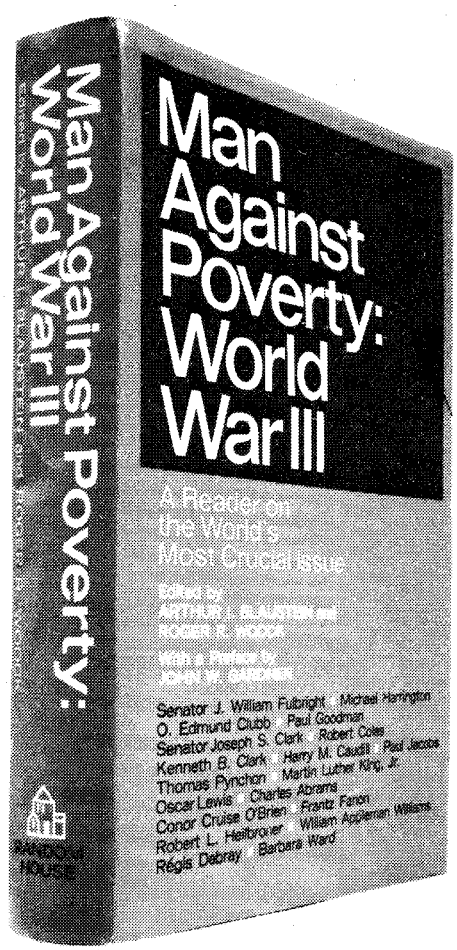

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long passages of wisdom, "I was all ready to go . . . what got in the way were the comforts of my parents' little house, the ebb-tide of a child's love."

Some of the descriptive passages are fine: "The sea is the color of greenish milk in the morning and in the afternoon like an open avocado displaying its red seed." But there is so much of it! And some of it so palpably purple and so full of pathetic fallacies. A river is "greenish with fear as it comes face to face [!] with the wrathful and salty loneliness of the . . . ocean." Asturias' similes are inclined to be signposts and pointers and, at worst, aren't honest similes: A bad newspaperman has "brownish skin, the color of a flesh-eating parasite."

Asturias is known for the way he can write of the Spanish Indian traditions that define his peasants. He handles superstition as concretely as bananas or gringos and it is here that he is at his most interesting and where he is splendidly served by Mr. Rabassa.

Here is the difficulty of consulting the Shaman, Rito Perraj:

> "To get on his good side it was quite essential to say to him without hesitation and with no mistake, 'Rito Perraj,' if he was Rito Am, the father, 'Rito Was Perraj,' if he was the grandfather and 'Rito Will Be Perraj,' if he was the grandson."

To this Shaman comes Hermenegilo Puac who "buried his nails into the flesh of his workingmen's hands not knowing what to do. They had to write to Chicago . . . Hermenegilo Puac did not know where it was. . . . And who were those people, he asked. Everybody, it seemed, knew who they were but nothing concrete. Chicago. . . . The bosses." Out of the sacrifice of Hermenegilo Puac's body the Shaman raises the strong wind of vengeance which, for ten spectacular pages, blows the reader out of his mind so that he can no longer quibble over similes. "The soft metal of the hurricane in the hands of the Shaman Rito Perraj blew wrathfully like dust made out of swords" and blows the Good Americans (who, ironically have just come back from Chicago with new money and new ideas) and the machine Americans and the banana plants and the whole plantation to kingdom come. Only the native peasants whom we have come to like survive; I hope Mr. Asturias is right about that.

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Peter Gay: Roots of Kultur

The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community 1890-1933 by Fritz K. Ringer

(Harvard University Press; $13.50)

Until quite recently, social history was the proverbial stepchild of German historians, grudgingly acknowledged and rarely cherished. Germans were too busy chronicling their medieval past, dwelling in nebulous realms of abstract ideas, or debating just once more the merits of Bismarck or the causes of World War I, to bother with critical examinations of social structure, domestic pressures on foreign policy, or the history of the press or of anti-Semitism. Almost the only social historians in Germany, apart from court gossips specializing in glossy picture books, were the Marxists, and their incursions into the sacred precincts of German society or German ideology were thoroughly unwelcome in the academy. Clearly, it was the kind of work that Jews or liberals did. Eckart Kehr, that brilliant young historian who died prematurely in 1933 (and who was, incidentally, neither a Jew nor a liberal), was better received abroad than at home: Charles Beard gave a respectful review to Kehr's mordant thesis on the impact of influence politics on the gigantic naval program under William II in the 1890's. In Germany the book and the accompanying articles had a kind of underground following among young outsiders who subscribed to such intellectual socialist magazines as *Die Gesellschaft;* but for the establishment, Kehr was little more than a talented nihilist.

Today German social historians are catching up, with their traditional industry and frantic haste; starved for generations, first by the political and professional conservatism of academic historians both under the Empire and in the Weimar Republic, and then by the utter degradation of the historical profession under the Nazis, younger historians are anxious to rejoin the West. Their monographs on professional associations in politics, social structure and pressure groups, the family, many of them of real distinction, are beginning to pile up. The landscape of German social history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which once looked as bleak as the moon, is now looking cultivated and, in some areas, positively crowded. Fritz Ringer's study of the German academic community in the critical years between 1890 and 1933, itself a

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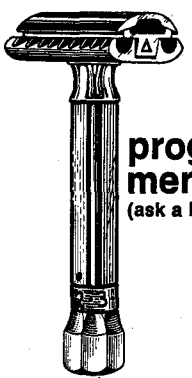

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healthy and on the whole attractive specimen of the genre of social history, goes far to explain why the German intellectual establishment should have been so hostile to a searching examination of its own situation and its country's past, and so eager to celebrate when it would have been so much more interesting to criticize.

Ringer's explanation, in line with the best recent work, goes somewhat like this: in the midst of a slow and in many respects eccentric economic and political development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, German academics developed into a self-conscious but politically impotent cultural elite far more concerned with establishing and reinforcing its own status than with contributing in any way to social change. The ascent up the educational pyramid was steep and the ladder narrow; the universities were free to teach and its students free to learn what they wanted, but this freedom was purchased at the price of conformity – a willingness to uphold a hierarchical and autocratic social order in which the professors could only profit by compliance.

In response to the demand for conformity, often quite explicit on the part of the authorities who did the appointing of professors, the professoriate developed an elaborate set of rationalizations. Professors concentrated on "ideals," on the "spiritual foundations of the state," on "cultivation," and on the establishment of the superiority of German "Kultur" over Western "civilization." The consequences of such a concentration on the ideal – a splendid rhetorical evasion of actualities – was an almost unbroken and almost unbreakable conservatism among professors, both in political attitudes and in choice of subject matter. If politics was taught, it was political theory or legal theory, not administration; if the subject was history, it was the march of the state through the world that occupied the center of attention rather than the struggle of classes within the state. What academic sociology there was amounted to little more than an excuse for the existing social structure; the historians who dominated the academy found good reasons in the past for anti-socialist legislation, or the government's call for colonies and a navy equal to Britain's. During World War I, when professors in all nations wrote things they were later ashamed of, German professors perpetrated more chauvinistic nonsense than anyone else anywhere else; the mandarins had been well trained for their role as apologists. It was no wonder that leading German academics loathed the Weimar Republic, did little to sustain and much to undermine it; while many of them did not like the Nazis, few of them firmly defended those who dared to fight them.

Mr. Ringer develops his depressing account of a wholesale treason of the clerks with deliberate speed. In close agreement with the writings of Hajo Holborn and Leonard Krieger, he chronicles the growth of the nonpolitical ideology of the academic mandarins in the early nineteenth century; he then discusses in detail the conditions of academic employment and advancement, gives some specific instances of *causes célèbres* in which incursions of democrats or socialists were repulsed by the establishment, and spends a good deal of space, justly I think, on the peculiar ideologies that grew rank in the protected walls of the German universities: social Darwinism, anti-Semitism, extreme nationalism, doctrines of cultural decadence, and, in the course of the Weimar Republic, what he calls "the synthesis movement," a frenzied search for values and for a way of belonging which I have called in my essay on Weimar culture, the hunger for wholeness. It is not a cheerful story, but it is an interesting one and of considerable importance for an understanding of a culture that took inordinate pride in its institutions of higher learning and in its influence abroad.

What makes the book particularly useful, in addition to its thoroughness and meticulous documentation, is its eminent fairmindedness. In the midst of reaction, complacency and myth-making, there were professors, not radicals but firmly within the establishment, who broke loose from accepted commonplaces to make contributions to their disciplines that remain of significance to this day. These men – one thinks of Max Weber above all – were complicated creatures, and Ringer judiciously finds his way through the literature and the jumble of conflicting claims.

Since *The Decline of the German Mandarins* is of undeniable interest, its flaws are unfortunate. The book is too long for the general audience I think it deserves, and often too popu-

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lar in tone for the specialized audience it is likely to get. Mr. Ringer is too long about his explanations, and too apologetic about his method. Specialists may resent the level of his exposition, other readers its volubility. This would be a pity, for the book is of real importance and, in the best sense of the word, suggestive. "The decline of the German mandarin," Ringer concludes, "was not a melodrama but a tragedy," and elsewhere in the book he defines the nature of that tragedy: "that the language of 'idealism' and of 'cultivation,' the traditional emphasis upon moral questions and abstract cultural values, was gradually channeled into an automatic defense against any form of institutional or social change." We still suffer from the aftermath of that tragedy, and we owe Ringer a considerable debt for analyzing and recording it so diligently.

Theatre

Red White and Maddox

At the Cort

"Red White and Maddox" would probably have been called "Lester!" if its creators had thought of it as a musical comedy, but since they didn't and since they wanted it understood that it isn't one, they describe it in the program as a "thing with music." This has the virtue of freeing us from having to make comparisons and of reminding us that things ought to be looked at as their own selves. What that is in this case is a theatre piece shaped originally by a group in Atlanta; part history, part fantasy, an occasion for elegy but much more frequently (in intention at least) for satire, its subject is the awful governor of Georgia and its highest aspirations are to point up the larger implications of his special kind of awfulness. There certainly isn't anything else like it around, but whether or not this is a blessing remains to be argued.

My own thought is that it isn't a blessing, not in itself, except as a theoretical matter. That is to say, there is every reason to applaud the idea of an enterprise like this, an energetic, unabashed statement of political values and perceptions, a political act, really, using the theatre as its ground. But the thing ought to be done well, it ought to be *sufficient* in itself, be justified by its own excellences and accomplishments and not, as I'm afraid is the case with "Red White and Maddox," be so entirely dependent on materials, morales and justifications existing outside the theatre and, in fact, outside any true operation of the imagination at all.

What happens is that nearly everything we take from the work has come into the theatre with us and is simply being bounced back to us. In much the same way as "MacBird," although without that piece's fiercer edges, "Red White and Maddox" is a work for partisans, for audiences in search of confirmation and for the peculiar pleasure that rises not from satire but from mockery. Our distaste for Maddox's foolishness, our anger at his know-nothing racism and alarm at his having climbed so high: the work is full of reinforcements of these things, and nearly empty of original feeling and perception.

In tracing Maddox's actual career during its first act, the thing relies heavily, as a program note tells us, on his own idiocies: his remark that he wants to keep his Pickrick restaurant for "my white friends, regardless of race, color or creed," his statement that "the problem with the nigra is that he ain't God's pal." It also relies, to even less effect, on the most cliched varieties of wit: Maddox is described as having "one of the most progressive minds of the nineteenth century" and is made to say that the worst thing about Negroes sitting-in at drug stores was that they were ordering vanilla sodas.

Later, when Maddox is imagined as

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somehow having won the Presidency and is rushing America towards civil war and a nuclear scrap with the Russians, the cliches, the failed wit and the coerced fantasy become even more decisive, since earlier there had at least been the record and the archives to draw upon. Time after time the satire misses its targets, most of which are the most stationary of sitting ducks. A general out of "Dr. Strangelove" shouts "today Vietnam, tomorrow the world," and the company sings of how "pulling triggers is more fun than lynching niggers." Maddox orders demonstrators on the White House lawn to be shot, then thinks better of it because the noise might wake up his wife. He asks his CIA director how things are and is told "it's a secret."

The last scenes exhibit the final impoverishment of satiric imagination. Maddox orders Moscow bombed and goes along to press the nuclear button himself. Through a series of predictable events the plane winds up over Washington, which Maddox proceeds to blast out of existence. Left alone, he plaintively calls to God, with whom he has been more and more associating himself (as President, he is called "your holiness"). There is no answer. "Even God's gone . . . they's only me . . . that means I'm God."

In nearly all the ways that it has to think, to be verbal and sharp, to employ wit strategically and enlarge mockery into true satire, "Red White and Maddox" doesn't begin to amount to anything. Yet there are moments of another kind, nonverbal moments all of them, when something affecting takes shape on stage and points the way to what the work might have been if it had discovered its better self in these revelations. One such occasion has to do with Maddox and his redneck friends standing guard with their axe-handles at the restaurant entrance. A black-masked flower-child approaches, proffers a blossom and sends the whites running frantically around the stage, blowing whistles, at first violently and then with more and more hesitation and uncertainty.

Another has to do with a group of peace demonstrators sitting silently in protest, holding balloons on long strings. Policemen appear, order them to clear out, then slowly and methodically with garden shears cut the strings of the balloons, which rise one by one to the flies, an image of severed hopes and victimized beauties of the spirit. At that moment I found myself wishing that the courage that it doubtless took to put "Red White and Maddox" on in Atlanta, that particular species of political courage, could have been matched by an esthetic valor, which after all is what originality is all about.

RICHARD GILMAN

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COMING:
Joseph Epstein
on Santayana

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Communication

Irrepressible Revolt?

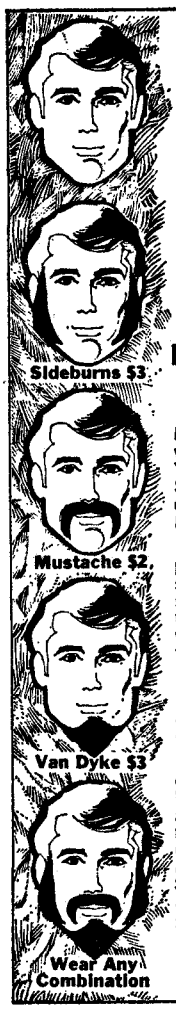
Lee Benson's "domino theory of falling bureaucratic or authoritarian institutions" does not describe what is happening. There is a domino effect, but where are the "falling" bureaucracies? Columbia still stands. De Gaulle still rules. The Democrats are still led by establishment types. Russia still controls the Czechs. The "Irrepressible World Revolt" has not toppled these organizations. Rather, there has been a ventilation, and a shift of style toward a participative or democratic model – and not a model of "autonomy."

The professionals in the "academic-scientist-intellectual complex" are only autonomous *relative* to the bureaucrat and the worker on the assembly line, but they nevertheless operate in an organized setting with leaders, rules, power, and authority. Benson points out the problems of "anarchic spontaneity," but does not provide a concept of organization that stands between the two poles of classical centralized bureaucracy and the autonomy of freely doing one's thing. Similar to the "proletariat" being an obsolete concept to describe today's revolutionaries, I would also suggest that "bureaucracy" is an obsolete term, which ignores present trends in social organization and provides little help in anticipating or in planning for the future.

There is a general lack of any concept with which to describe the loose, participative, democratic form of organization that is humanly desirable. Yet we are evolving in this direction. Partly it is a shift in values – the quiet revolution of "The Great Refusal" – as described by Arthur Mendel (*NR*, January 11, 1969). There is also a shift in power. As we move from an industrial to a post-industrial society, human service organizations staffed with relatively autonomous professionals at lower or front-line levels are becoming the prevailing form of social organization. Moreover, the patterns of power in all organizations are shifting, with greater dispersion within organizations and greater influence between organizations. Professional/specialists are increasingly getting a piece of the decision-making action. Within American universities, for example (which are far more decentralized than universities elsewhere in the world), professors have never been more powerful and the trend of power is moving downward to include students. At the same time, as organizations increasingly interlock in what Daniel Bell calls our "communal society," or Marshall McLuhan calls our Electric Age, there is a declining autonomy of the individual organization and growing prospects of influence by the emerging humanistic world culture. The loose participative organization described by Abraham Maslow as "eupsychic" is the model for the future, and it is critical that we do not describe present organizations with the obsolete concept of bureaucracy, nor destroy them in the simplistic pursuit of ultimate autonomy.

Although there is evidence of a trend toward a state of humanistic organization, it is also clear that organizations – especially those facing little competition – have not changed fast enough to meet new demands for new services and the growing norm of participation. Indeed, every public institution is under attack today for obsolete personnel, structure, and processes: police and welfare departments, schools and colleges, planning agencies and post offices, foreign policy-makers and political parties, churches and labor unions, the construction and transportation industries, Congress and state legislatures, hospitals and mental hospitals, and prisons and courts. Ironically, the institutions most responsive to human needs – those producing toothpaste, tires, and television sets – are probably the least important to our "progress" or survival.

Although present revolt may be seen as a revolt against all authority (and there are doubtlessly some anarchists who are in fact against all authority), the bulk of protest might be better seen as not against authority *per se*, but against *irresponsible* authority: leaders who do not lead or who make foolish decisions; and institutions that do not adapt. In terms of humanistic values and social goals, it is proper to rebel against the ossified concepts and practices of Hershey, Hoover, Kirk,



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O'Boyle, Daley, Rusk, and De Gaulle. But it becomes counter-productive to rebel against responsive authority, as recently seen at Brandeis and Swarthmore.

Consequently, I would concur with Benson that the world revolt is indeed "irrepressible" – if it selectively rebels against irresponsible and obsolete authority. Indeed, I encourage this revolt. But when the rebels themselves become irresponsible (guided by obsolete Marxian concepts) and indiscriminately attack all authority, then the revolt may well be repressible, and I would reluctantly side with the repressors.

MICHAEL MARIEN

In reply:

Mr. Marien's letter illustrates the truism that words get in the way of communication. I thought I wrote about anti-authoritarian movements; he reads me as though I described them as "against authority *per se*." I thought I wrote approvingly of the Renaissance concept of doing one's own thing in the interest and context of a harmoniously integrated society; he reads me as though I wrote approvingly of self-sufficient, self-centered individuals free to do their own things in an unstructured society lacking any form of responsible authority. I thought I wrote about turning points and long-range tendencies; he reads me as having described completed revolutions.

But my main purpose is not to dispute Mr. Marien's reading of my essay. If I correctly understand *him*, we essentially agree on three important issues: 1) there has recently been "a ventilation, and a shift of style toward a participative or democratic model" of social organization; 2) effective pressures must be developed and responsibly directed against outmoded forms of social institutions (broadly conceived) and outmoded methods of operation if men are to create "the loose, participative, democratic form of organization that is humanly desirable;" 3) "irresponsible rebels" who "indiscriminately attack all authority" are misguided and tend to strengthen rather than weaken the organizational forms and methods and policies they identify as their targets.

When those three propositions are stated in the general terms deliberately used above, Mr. Marien and I probably find it easy to agree. At that level of generality, moreover, I think that those propositions are acceptable to most, if not all, American liberals and radicals (for convenience, the American Left). Difficulties arise, of course, when various individuals and groups on the Left try to translate those abstract generalities into concrete realities. It is a melancholy fact of life that intensely angry and unproductive conflicts then arise. (For recent examples, see the acrimonious exchanges in *The New Republic* between Arthur Mendel and Zbigniew Brzezinski, in the *New York Review of Books* between Eugene Genovese and Staughton Lynd; regrettably, the list could be extended at great length.)

Instead of simply deploring acrimony and wishing it would go away, I think it useful to identify some of the critical questions (they overlap somewhat) now in dispute on the American Left. On what might loosely be called the theoretical level, these questions seem central: should scientific and technological development be permitted to accelerate and spread only on condition that radical changes are made in social institutions and modes of thought? If radical social changes are the price of continued scientific and technological progress, how do we identify them and how do we bring them about? Who has the responsibility and capacity either to identify appropriate radical institutional changes or demonstrate that proposed changes actually are unnecessary or harmful? In respect to specific types of human behavior, what specifically constitutes the "loose, participative, democratic form of organization that is humanly desirable?"

On the empirical level, these questions provoke dispute: how much of a shift has actually taken place toward achieving participative and democratic models of social organization? To the extent that significant changes have occurred in the desired direction, why have they occurred? Which groups, which strategies, which tactics, which actions have been effective, which ineffective, which harmful?

In the "what is to be done" category, two questions seem critically important: when members of the American Left try to answer the questions posed above, why do they strongly tend to adopt an angry, destructive and ultimately self-defeating style and tone? More importantly: granted that disagreements are bound to arise, what should we do to minimize the destructive and maximize the constructive results that can be derived from *intellectual* confrontation?

Specifically, I hope that Mr. Marien and I can agree on this proposition: the best way to reduce the number and influence of "irresponsible rebels" is not to assert one's willingness, however reluctant, to side with their repressors, but to provide constructive

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VERBATIM REVIEW from *Choice*, a Publication of the Association of College and Research Libraries, a Division of the American Library Association, December, 1968:

LEVINE, Stuart and Nancy Oestreich Lurie, eds. The American Indian Today. Everett/Edwards, 133 South Pecan Avenue, Deland, Fla. 32720, 1968. 229p il map tab bibl 67-24839. 12.00

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channels of action to achieve such "negative" goals as ending the Vietnam war, militarism, racism, poverty, and such positive goals as a genuinely humanist society and a genuinely humanist system of education. In oversimplified terms, I think it reasonable to assume that irresponsibility among university students arises to a considerable extent from the failure of the professoriate to constitute the effective vanguard of an academic-scientist-intellectual complex committed to what I have loosely termed "the autonomous revolution." (To clarify a point I apparently failed to make clear to some readers, I did not intend to suggest that all, or the majority, or even a very sizable minority of all the components of that complex will function as New Prometheans. One need not subscribe to elitist theories to postulate that the "vanguards" of social movements do not constitute a majority of their social groups.)

If my assumptions have any validity, one of the most hopeful "signs of the times" is the accelerating development of organized groups of political scientists, sociologists, historians, physicists, and psychologists to bring their professional knowledge to bear upon the problems of the larger society. Psychologists probably have made the most progress in that direction and, in a variety of their ways, are also helping to speed the progress of other groups.

First organized in late August, 1968, the "American Psychologists for Social Action" by December had 20 local chapters from coast-to-coast and was publishing a printed newsletter, *Social Action*, whose title suggests the organization's main thrust. By January 1969, the APSA had made sufficient progress to sponsor a nationwide series of conferences "on psychosocial problems of ending the war in Vietnam" – conferences designed to develop effective ways of translating general theories into concrete actions on national, regional, and local levels. The first conferences are to be held during the weekend of March 1, 1969; others will be held throughout the remainder of March. Moreover, and in some ways more significantly, the APSA successfully proposed that the 1969 official meeting of the American Psychological Association be devoted to the theme, "Psychology and the Problems of Society." That meeting may constitute a scholarly revolution of major significance. It will be devoted in large measure to the difficult problems inherent in bringing psychological knowledge and research to bear upon contemporary social problems in ways beneficial both to psychology as a discipline and to the larger society. In effect, the meeting will try to find the golden mean between scholars functioning as though they were either locked in an ivory tower or operating a social service station.

Even more than the specific activities launched by the American Psychologists for Social Action, I am impressed by its organizational philosophy and style. Instead of following traditional models and developing a tightly structured centralized organization, its founders have consciously drawn upon their theories of human behavior to create a confederation of chapters with "maximum feasible" local autonomy. Instead of a single program of activities, hammered out after the painfully familiar kind of egoistic wrangling and manipulation and mutually unsatisfactory compromise built into traditional organizational structures, the APSA is designed to encourage chapters and sub-groups within chapters to devise and carry out what *they* take to be their most effective and personally satisfying "things." It is designed to function as a catalyst, a communication network, a provider of some central resources and a community of generally like-minded scholars.

The natural extension of the APSA organizational model is some kind of organized communication network designed to link together and increase the effectiveness of the professional groups now springing up on the American academic scene. That such extension is both natural and already underway is evident from the way cooperation has spontaneously developed between the APSA and the "March 4" physicists movement to call a "research stoppage" to protest governmental misuse of science and technology.

Lacking any interdisciplinary communication network, neither group at the start knew of the other's plans for major actions during the first week of March. Having learned about each other, they are now developing mechanisms to complement and reinforce their particular activities and organizations.

Unless I misread the signs, by the end of 1969, some kind of planned interdisciplinary communication network will have been created by American academics determined to try to use their professional knowledge to advance socially responsible action. And if that development does occur in the United States, it seems reasonable to predict its extension on an international scale. Even within the last few weeks, American academics oriented to socially responsible action have rapidly accelerated their organizational development and their ability to plan and implement significant activities.

In light of that phenomenon, am I simply indulging in wistful thinking to write that we probably are now witnessing the early stages of the creation of an "Internationale" of the professoriate designed to help bring about a revolution that will help develop self-determined individuals and a harmoniously integrated society?

LEE BENSON

Correspondence

Untangling the Tangles

Sirs:

David Sanford's article, "The Trans-Pacific Air Route Tangle," (*NR*, Feb. 15) obviously represents an effort at a balanced treatment of this very complex proceeding. Having been one of those from whom he sought background information about the case, I have great respect for the thoroughness with which he has approached it, and regard the article as a constructive contribution to wider public understanding of the issues involved. However, I must take exception to certain charges attributed to me in the article.

No one other than President Nixon himself can do more than speculate as to which of a number of factors may have contributed to his decision to review the case. Several carriers have urged publicly, and presumably directly to governmental officials, that the case should be reopened and the decision changed. This they have every

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right to do. I have no personal knowledge as to who talked to President Nixon about the case and I have not claimed to have such knowledge.

Mr. Sanford is correct when he suggests that carrier representatives have spread rumors, pro and con, as to whether the original decision was tainted with cronyism. However, for the airlines to continue their debate on this level can only obscure the real issues and contributes nothing to a prompt or sound decision. This is equally true when their innuendoes are aimed at President Nixon's review of the case.

In fact, this case has been handled with meticulous propriety. The reasons for the recommendations made and the decisions reached at various stages of the proceeding are fully set out on the public record. A careful study of that record should convince any objective person that the recommendations of the CAB staff, the conflicting recommendations of the Examiner, the decision of the Board, and the modification directed by President Johnson each represented an effort to create the new Pacific route structure which would best serve the public interest.

Speculation as to the considerations which led to President Nixon's review should be mooted by the recent announcement from the White House that the President will consider only changes based on foreign relations or national security, and will not receive communications on the case from anyone except the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, or his other foreign affairs and national security advisors. The one change made by President Johnson was clearly within the same limits. With the present review thus limited, we can all second Mr. Sanford's hope that the case can be concluded quickly, so that the public can begin to receive the benefits of the new competitive service. As his article makes clear, this is what the case is all about.

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Kauffmann, *from page 22*

their cases, boredom has been the subject, not the artist's own reaction to the making of his art. The first half of *Weekend*, which is Godard's best work to date, is brilliantly *about* certain boredoms; but in the second half *he* was bored.

His contemporary, Truffaut, seems to be running out of interests and is becoming a body of film-making skills more or less for hire. Godard, a man of larger and more desperate hungers, keeps snatching at themes to nourish his interest. He has gobbled at blood (a midget with scissors in his neck in *Pierrot*), alienation, the Vietnam war, Maoism, fantasy youth revolt, real youth revolt. If anything ever gripped him profoundly, even if only for a couple on months, what a film we might get.

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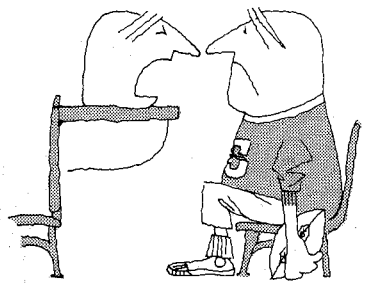

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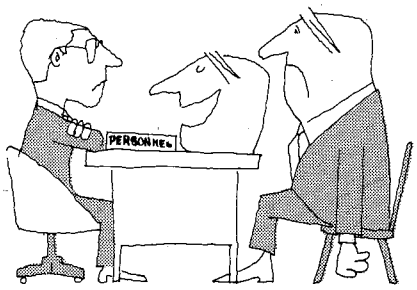

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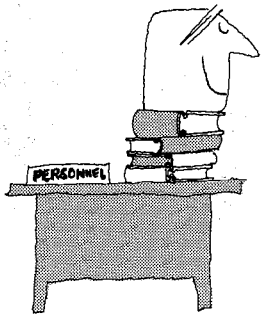

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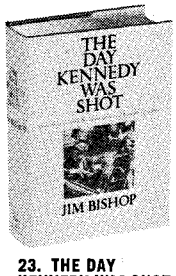

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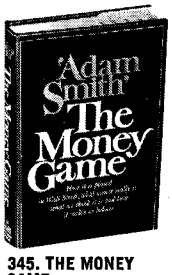

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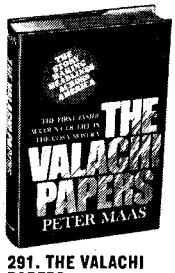

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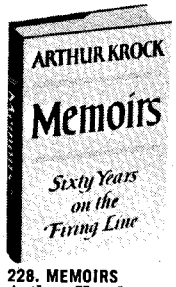

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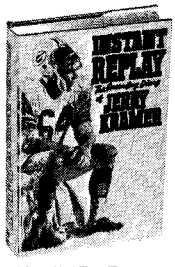

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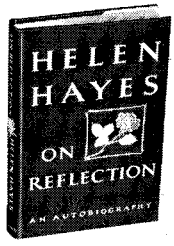

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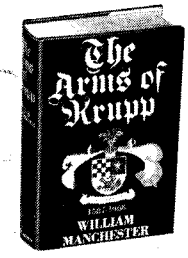

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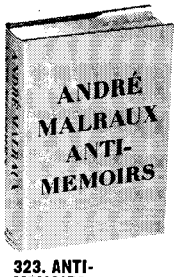

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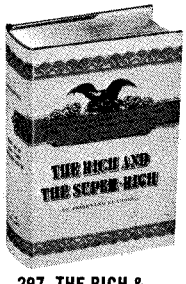

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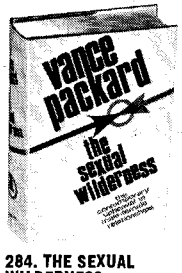

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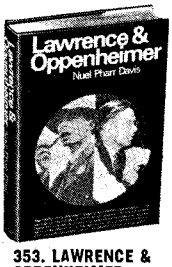

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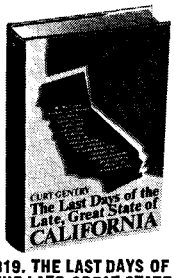

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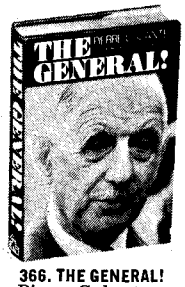

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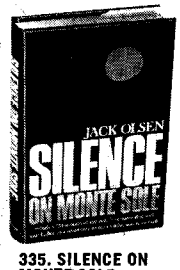

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